

English Reprints.

vol. XIII.





English Reprints.

Edited by EDWARD ARBER, F.S.A.,

Fellow of King's College, London; Hon. Member of the Virginia Historical Society; Examiner in English Language and Literature, Victoria University, Manchester Professor of English Language and Literature, Sir Fosiah Mason s College, Birmingham.

[Vol. 13]

A HARMONY OF

LORD BACON's

ESSAYS, ETC. 1597-1638.

27/16/93

BIRMINGHAM .

I MONTAGUE ROAD.

1871.

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English Reprints.

A HARMONY

OF THE

ESSAYS. ETC.

OF

FRANCIS BACON.

Viscount St Alban, Baron Verulam, &c.

And after my manner, I alter ever, when I add. So that nothing is finished, till all be finished.—Letter of Sir Francis Bacon to Mr Tobie Matthew, dated Graies Inn, Feb. 27, 1610.

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Fellow of King's College, London; Hon. Member of the Virginia Historical Society;
Examiner in English Language and Literature, Victoria University, Manchester;
Professor of English Language and Literature,
Sir Josiah Mason's College, Birmingham.

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PROLOGUE.

Iterature as well as Drefs has its fashions, its varying modes of expressing the Taste of the day. Since printed English books have been, one kind of Subject or one Style of writing, rather than all others, has been in favour

both with writers and readers: juft as it was confonant with the intelligence and movements, the focial, political, and religious life of the Age. This Subject or Style has maintained its pre-eminence until fome change in the national life or the advent of fome new strong writer has created interest in a fresh topic or occasioned delight through some new phase of expression. So that as time wore on, not only have books multiplied immensely, but the Literature has vastly increased in species, classes, and kinds of writings. To quote a few late examples. In the last century, the existing style of Essay writing was initiated by Addison and Steele; English Romances of Travel were founded in De Foe's Robinson Crusses; our earliest modern Novels were written by Richardson, Fielding, and Goldsmith; and Dr. Johnson compiled the first of our present recognized Dictionaries. Quite recently also, we have seen that fungus variety of Fiction—the Sensation Novel—live its day and pass away. 'To every thing there is a feason, and a time to

every purpose under the heaven.'

2. Within the century fince Caxton had established the use of printing in England, there had come into vogue ALLEGORICAL VERSE in Stephen Hawes' Pastime of Pleasure, which kind of composition had recently been revived in Spenfer's Faery Queene. Another class of poetry, PASTORAL VERSE, had been represented by Barclay's Egloges, Spenfer's Shepheardes Calender, Lodge's Phillis, Watson's Melibaus (in English), and Barnfield's Affectionate Shep-The Reforming spirit fometimes had used the lash of SATIRICAL VERSE, as in Roy's Rede me and be nott wrothe, and the many unprinted Ballad Invectives and Complaints that have come down to us. Then Classical literature had come in like a flood, and there had arisen a school of severe CRITICISM in Greek, Latin, and English, including such scholars as Sir I. Cheke, Walter Haddon, and Roger Ascham. Then there had been the almost universal habit among Gentlemen of SONNETT-ING, of which no one knows the entire existing remains. Then had arisen the fashion of PLAYS: Comedies first, arising out of the Miracle, Mystery, and Morality plays: afterwards Tragedy, Then had come the in imitation of the Dramas of Seneca. fashion of collecting the Sonnets and kindred verse into POETI CAL MISCELLANIES. So much poetry occasioned Discussions AND CONTROVERSIES IN THE ART OF POETRY, begun by Gascoigne and which were deftined to continue, with hardly a break, beyond the time of Dryden. Soon after came up the EUPHUISTIC OR

WITTICISM ROMANCES of Lyly, Lodge, Greene and others. Laftly, Hooker had recently introduced a New Style of Prose in his *Ecclefiaftical Polity*. Such had been the growth in variety of English Letters; when Bacon added to it yet another form.

3. Whatever may be affigned as the causes: it is indubitable that as our Literature grew to its highest, it grew more ferious. The National Mind had been in training all through the century which was now drawing to a close. Under the influence of Claffical and Italian literature its ruftical strength had been disciplined into a highly wrought elegance and refinement. It had become endowed with great power of imagery, and, as it were, its face had become resplendent with grace and beauty. All that was aëry and blithefome had culminated in the verfe of Wyatt, Surrey, Spenfer, Lodge, Watfon, Daniel, Barnfield, and that new poet Shakespeare, with many an other. At length came, over Writers and Readers alike, a mighty change. Strength fatiated with Gracefulness fought delight in Majesty. turned from idle toys to the full confideration and the perfect expression of the highest Problems cognizant to Man: and to that great Problem, Man himfelf. He who will conftraft the general character of the books published from the appearance of Ascham's Toxophilus, 1544, till the first Edition of these Esfayes in 1597, with those onward till the appearance of Paradife Lost in 1667; will readily perceive that in each period there was most excellent Strength and Cunning, but that the Spirit was different. In the former, it was the breath of L'Allegro; in the latter that of Il Penseroso.

This being true of the whole literature it is more palpable and evident in the works of recreation. In these, the Change was, for the most part, from Poetry to Prose, from Fancy to Observation, from Imaginations of Ethereal Grace, Felicity, and Beauty to Characters and Caricatures of men as they were. We

exchange Marlowe's Song

Come with me and be my Love,

for Earle's description of A Shee-Precife Hypocrite: and in like manner, the Sonneteers of the first period are succeeded in equal number by the Character-Writers of the second. It was precisely at this point of Change, that the Euphuistic and Italian Romances were supplanted by Essays.

4. Effays came to us from France. MICHEL, Sieur de MON-TAIGNE, published the first two books of his *Effais* at Bourdeaux in 1580; when Bacon was about twenty years of age. Hallam speaks thus highly of their originality, as a new style of writing.

The Essays of Montaigne, the first edition of which appeared at Bordeaux in 1580, make in several respects an epoch in literature, less on account of their real importance, or the novel truths they contain, than of their influence upon the taste and the opinions of Europe. They are the first provocatio ad topulum, the first appeal from the porch and the academy to the haunts of

busy and of idle men, the first book that taught the unlearned reader to observe and reflect for himself on questions of moral philosophy. In an age when every topic of this nature was treated systematically, and in a didactic form, he broke out without connexion of chapters, with all the digressions that levity and garrulous egotism could suggest, with a very delightful, but, at that time, most unusual rapidity of transition from seriousness to gaiety. It would be to anticipate much of what will demand attention in the ensuing century, were we to mention here the conspicuous writers who, more or less directly, and with more or less of close imitation, may be classed in the school of Montaigne; it embraces, in fact, a large proportion of French and English literature, and especially of that which has borrowed his title of Essays. Intr. to Lit. of Europe [from 1550—1600] ii. 169. Ed. 1839.

Each book of these Essas (the word also came to us from France) forms one of the two volumes. The chapters are shorter than they afterwards became; and there are but sew quotations.

The next edition was published at Bourdeaux in 1582; Edition feconde, renewe et augmentée, and was contained in one volume. An edition also appeared between 1582 and 1587, but no copy of it is now known. Another edition was published at Paris in 1587. A fifth edition appeared at Paris in 1588. Montaigne died on 4 December 1592: and the last edition of his lifetime appeared at Lyons, with the date 1593. Dr. Payen tells us that "Montaigne although he says 'I add but I do not correct' he did often correct even to very light shadings of expressions." It was his custom to note these corrections and additions in the margins of his own copies. His literary fosterdaughter, Mademoiselle Marie de Jars or Jards, daughter of Guillaume de Jars, lord of Neusoi and de Gournay, and hence commonly called Mademoiselle de Gournay, incorporated these corrections and additions in first posthumous edition of 1595; which forms a principal basis for the modern critical text of Montaigne's greatest work.

5. Every excellent Author establishes a distinct section or group of literature in aftertimes, confecrated to the exposition and illustration of his Writings; which create an ever-increasing commentary through their contact with the fresh mind of successive generations. Just as we have a Chaucer, a Shakespeare, a Milton literature: fo is there in France, a Montaigne literature. It may be of affiftance to those who would become acquainted with this, to notice a few works through which they may obtain an entrance into it. M. J. F. Payen, M.D. has been a great worker in this field; especially in his most complete Notice bibliographique sur Montaigne, Paris. 1837, and his Documents inédits, ou peu connus fur Montaigne. Paris, 4 parts of which (250 copies only of fome of them being printed,) have appeared, viz. in 1847, 1850, 1855, 1856. M. Alphonse Grün's La vie publique de Michel Montaigne, Paris, 1855, (criticized by Dr. Payen in Part 4 of Documents inédits &c.), will fupply references to many of the French Writers who have written on the great Effayist of France. Two tracts likewise may not be overlooked, "Montaigne chez lui. Visite de deux Amis à son Chateau" by MM. E. Galey and L. Lapeyre.

Périgeux, 1861. (150 copies printed): which contains transcripts of the 54 sentences inscribed on the joifts of ceiling of the Library which is fituated on the fecond floor of the Library Tower of the Chateau. Also M. Galey's tract in continuation, Le Fauteuil

de Montaigne, Périgeux. 1865. (200 copies printed).

6. The influence of Montaigne on some of the greatest writers in England is traced by the possession of copies of John Florio's translation of the Essaie in English, in 1603, by our two chief poets at that time. Both copies are in the British Museum. The one, with press-mark C. 28. m. 8., bears on its title-page the fignature of Ben Fonfon, and a Latin note that he bought for feven folidi (i.e. shillings) in 1604. The other, with Press-mark C. 28. m. 7., has on a fly-leaf opposite the title-page, the fignature Wilm. Shakspeare. Sir F. Madden, a very great authority, in his Observations on an Autograph of Shakespeare, London, 1838, states that this particular autograph "challenges and defies fuspicion, and has already passed the ordeal of numerous competent examiners, all of whom have, without a fingle doubt, expressed their conviction of its genuineness," p. 6. He surther adduces internal evidence from The Tempest, of Shakespeare's use of Florio's translation; in which he has been imitated, at a more recent date, by Monsieur V. E. P. Chasles in his Etudes fur W.

Shakespeare, Marie Stuart, et l'Aretin. Paris. 1851.

7. Bacon knew Montaigne, not only as the great French Effayift, but also as the friend of his only full-brother, Anthony. This elder fon of the Lord Keeper, Sir Nicholas Bacon, by his fecond wife, the Philosopher's mother, was wandering about the continent, chiefly in France, for eleven years, between 1579 and February 1592, during all the time England was rifing to her highest effort in the struggle with Spain. In November 1582, within two years of the first appearance of Montaigne's Esfais, and the year of their fecond edition, both at Bordeaux; Anthony Bacon came to that city, and there contracted a friendship with the Sieur de Montaigne. Without doubt this acquaintanceship refulted in these French Estais being early brought under Bacon's notice; and notwithstanding that their endless ramblings from the fubject, fo utterly distasteful to him, the novelty of the style of writing no doubt recommended itself to him: and thus he came to note down his own observations, after the method of his own So that on 30 January 1597 he could fay that he published them 'as they passed long agoe from my pen.'

Yet it is strange that Bacon ignores his guide. There is no allusion by him to Montaigne in these essays before 1625, under which year he will be found quoted at p. 501. When, in 1612, he was writing his dedication to Prince Henry of his fecond and revised Text, it pleased him to go back to antiquity for a precedent, and to find in Seneca's Epifles o Lucilius the prototype of

the modern Effay, see p. 158.

8. At whatever date the first of these Essays were written, they were certainly preceded in publication by another work of like kind, which we take to be the earliest publication in the technical so m of Essay-writing in our language. It is a very rare little book—for the inspection of which we are indebted to that beneficent friend of this Series, Henry Pyne, Esq.—entitled "Remedies against Discontentment, arawen into severall Discourses from the writinges of auncient Philosophers. By Anonymous. London. Printed for Rase Blower. An. Do. 1596." It was registered at Stationers' Hall on 2 June 1596. The entry stands at the top of fol. 11. of Register C (1595-1620) as follows:—

1596. 38. Regni Rie Elia:

Secundo die Junij.

Raphe Blower and Entred for their copie vnder hands of Mr
Tho: Purfoote Junior Hartwell and bothe the wardens a

booke intituled Anonymous his Remedies against discontentment.

- Vja

Who 'Anonymous' was we have no idea. He, however, dedicated the *Remedies*, &-c, to the Attorney General, Edward afterwards Sir Edward Coke, which dedication is fucceeded by the following, *Anonymous to his Friend*.

You carnestlie entreated mee to sende you those small discourses you tooke view of in my studie, not longe since. You have so great authoritie over me that I can not (without breaking the league of friends ippe) make that just excuse vnto you, which I might vnto others. They were onely framed for mine owne private vse; and that is the reason I tooke no great paine, to set them foorth anye better, thinking they should never see the light. Imagine not to find in them, those subtill questions, and profound discourses which so waightie a matter requireth. It was not my purpose to enter so farre, both in regarde of the weakenes of mine owne forces, as that I did likewise knowe well, that the auncient Philosophers haue lefte vnto vs many volumes of the same subject, whose perfection I am in no wise able to imitate. But as they all with one accord doe acknowledge thus much, that wee do naturally e desire to bee happe, and that there is no meanes in this world to attaine thereunto, but to bridell our affections, and to bring them vnto a sounde temper, which is the onelye waye to set our mynde at rest: So did they iudge it requisite, that we should referre all our labour, watching, and meditation to this end. And in deede it is the course which the best witts of those times, haue taken: yea not onely they who haue been guided by the obscure lighte of nature, but euen those whoe thorowe faith haue been enlightened, by the cleare shining of the Sonne beames. From these faire flowers, whiche their labours haue afforded mee, I haue as I passed by, gathered this small heape, and as my time and leasure serued me, distilled them, and kept them as precious. Deeming that the lesser quantitye they they did containe, so much greater shoulde their vertue and power be. For I was long since thus perswaded, that the receiptes which wee seeke, to calme, and appease our mind with all, ought to bee gathered into the fewest words, and shortest precepts that may be, that wee may alwayes haue them about vs. Forasmuch as disquietnes, which stoppeth the passage of felicitie, and with the which we are alwaies to combate, doth for the most part take vs vnawares, and keepe vs at that bay, that if wee have not still some short, vs vnawares, and keepe vs at that bay, that if wee hade not still some short, and easie weapons about vs, which we may well handle, we should not be able to defend our selues. I doubt not but your age, and experience, hath long since prouided you those that are of better mettle, better forged, and tempered. But sith that you haue a good opinion of mine, and desire to vse them (as you make me beleeue) I do answerable to your desire send them you. If they please you, it shalbe according to my wish: If they displease, yet is it according to your commundement. Fare you well. Yours Anonimus.

'The Discourses conteyned in this Booke' are as follows:

1 Howe wee ought to prepare our selves against passions. 2. Of the choice of affaires. 3. Of foresight. 4. Of the vocation of every man. 5. Howe wee ought to rule our life. 6. Of the diversitie of mens actions. 7. Of the choice of friends. 8. Of dissembling, 9. Of vanitie. 10. Of prosperitie. 11. A comparison of our own estate, with the fortune of other men. 12. Of adversitie. 13 of sorrowe. 14. Of the affliction of good men. 15. Of other mens faultes. 16. Of iniuries, wrongs, and disgraces. 17. Of powertie. 18. Of Death.

Of all these we may give as a sample, the fifth Discourse.

How we ought to rule our life.

IN mine opinion it is necessarie to hould a certaine firme and staid course of life without chaunging vppon euery slight occasion. shall see some who are so infected with this vice, that they alter their manner of life daily, being vnpossible to settle themselues to any thing, like vnto those who neuer haue been at Sea, who when they first set saile, remooue out of a great Ship into a little, and from a little to a great, shewing plainely that they mislike both; being still Sea-sick and purging their stomack. It is even so with those who bring their passions with them in those matters they vndertake, seeking dayly a new forme of life and neuer doe effect any thing they begyn. Euerie thing maketh them sick, all things torment them: to haue much busines, to be idle, to serue, to command, to be maried, to leade a single life, to have children, to bee without issue: to bee short, nothing pleaseth them, nothing satisfieth them, but that which they have not: And such kind of men live miserably and discontentedly, like vnto those who are restrayned of their libertie, and fettered, liuing in a dayly torment.

There are another sort of men almost like vnto these, who can neuer stand still nor staie in one place, they neuer cease going and comming, they intermedle themselues in euery mans matter without any intreatie, they are won-derfully troubled with busines, and yet they haue nothing at all to do. When they come abroad, yf you demaunde of them whither they go, they straight-waies make answere I know not, I haue some busines like as others They run about the streetes, and market places, and returne all wearne and disquieted, hauing dispatched nothing at all. For there is nothing that so much wearieth any man as to labour in vaine. It is like ants who climbe vnto the top of a tree, and when they are at the highest haue nothing else to doe but to come downe againe, without reaping any other profit. They goe with such a randome that they carrie all that they meete before them. The Exchange, Powles, and the market places, are ordinarily full of such men. These forge and inuent newes, are deceauers, talking still of men liues, and discoursyng vainely what charges and offices other men have.

A wise mans actions tend alwaies to a certaine end, he neuer burdeneth himselfe, with more busines then hee can well execute. And to say the troth, Hee which taketh much uppon him, giveth fortune much power over

9. Fourteen pages of entries intervene in the Stationers' Company' Register between the record of Remedies against Discontentment, &c., on the 2d June 1596, in 38 Eliz.; and that of Essayes, Religious Meditations, &c. on 5th of February 1507, in 39 Eliz., of which they were the forerunners: For though not quite the very first English Essayist, it was Bacon that established in England this new species of writing.

Having thus brought the reader to the threshold of the present Reprint, we close our brief sketch of the advent of the Essay

in our national Literature.

Dr. RAWLEY'S LIFE OF LORD BACON.



Knowledge of the manhood of Bacon wonderfully illustrates the drift and method of his Essays, and vice versa. We fortunately possess an early and most authoritative account of him in the following Life by his 'first and last Chaplain,' the Rev. WILLIAM RAWLEY, D.D., which first appeared in his Resusci-

tatio, 1657. fol., was revised in the reprint of it of 1661, and is for the most part, the best testimony attainable (viz., that of a credible Eye and Ear wit-

ness), expressed with great strength and clearness.

We must therefore accept it, so far as it goes; for Dr. Rawley omits all allusion to Bacon's failings and fall, and touches but lightly upon the more active political and judicial parts of his career. All which parts, however, must be added to the account here given of him, if we would comprehend the enduring and fertile activity of his great powers. It is well also to dwell on such a bright side of Bacon's character as is here presented to us: in order to do him justice: for the character here given is the general tenour of his long life; even after dishonour a particular transactions had been incurred, though not always detected and punished. The general character preceded, co-existed, and survived each dishonour; and so Bacon is in a measure, the Solomon of modern times, endowed with wonderful powers, but still succumbing to the temptations that most easily beset his temperament.

Dr. Rawley's narrative, as first printed, is so disfigured with capital letters, and cut to shreds with commas, that, in this instance, we have modernised it.

Before the Life, in the edition of 1661, he placed an Epistle to the Reader, which begins thus:—"Having been employed as an amanuensis or daily instrument to this honourable Author, and acquainted with his Lordship's conceits in the composing of his Works, for many years together, especially in his writing time, I conceived that no man could pretend a better interest or claim to the ordering of them, after his death, than myself. For which cause I have compiled in one, whatsoever bears the true stamp of his Lordship's excellent genius, and hath hitherto slept and been suppressed in this present volume; not leaving anything to a future hand which I found to be of moment and communicable to the public, save only some few Latin works, which, by God's favour and suffrance, shall soon after follow.

It is true that for some of the Pieces herein contained, as his Lordship did not aim at the publication of them but at the preservation only, and prohibiting then from perishing, so as to leave them reposed in some private

Shrine or Library. .

The Epistle thus concludes: "As for this present collection, I doubt not but that it will verify itself in the several parcels thereof, and manifest to all understanding and unpartial readers who is the Author of it: by that spirit of perspicuity, and aptness, and conciseness, which runs through the whole

work, and is ever an annex of his Lordship's pen.

There is required now; and I have been moved by many, both from foreign nations and at home, who have in price, and been admirers of this honourable Author's conceits and apprehensions; that some memorials might be added concerning his Lordship's life. Wherein I have been more willing than sufficient to satisfy their requests, and to that end have endeavoured to contribute not my talent, but my mite, in the next following discourse. Though to give the true value to his Lordship's worth, there were more need of another Homer to be the trumper of Archilles' vertues."

THE LIFE OF THE HONOURABLE AUTHOR.

FRANCIS BACON, the Glory of his Age and Nation, the Adorner and Ornament of Learning, was born in York House or York Place, in the Strand; on the 22d day of January in the year of our Lord, 1560 His father was that famous Councillor to Queen Elizabeth, the second Prop of the Kingdom in his time; Sir Nicholas Bacon Knight, Lord Keeper of the Great Seal of England: a Lord of known prudence, sufficiency, moderation, and integrity. His mother was Anne, one of the daughters of Sir Anthony Cook, unto whom the erudition of King Edward the Sixth had been committed: a choice Lady and eminent for piety, virtue, and learning; being exquisitely skilled, for a woman, in the Greek and Latin tongues. These being the parents, you may easily imagine what the issue was like to be; having had whatsoever Nature or Breeding could put into him.

His first and childish years were not without some mark of eminency. At which time, he was endued with that pregnancy and towardness of wit, as they were presages of that deep and universal Apprehension which was manifest in him afterward: and caused him to be taken notice of by several persons of Worth and Place, and especially by the Queen; who (as I have been informed), delighted much, then, to confer with him, and to prove him with questions. Unto whom, he delivered himself with that gravity and maturity above his years, that Her Majesty would often term him 'The young Lord Keeper.' Being asked by the Queen 'How old he was?' He answered with much discretion, being then but a boy, 'That he was two years younger than Her Majesty's happy Reign.' With which answer the Queen was much taken,

At the ordinary years of ripeness for the University, or rather somewhat earlier; he was sent by his father to Trinity College in Cambridge, to be educated and bred under the tuition of Doctor JOHN WHITGIFT, then master of that College, afterwards the renowned Archbishop of Casterbury: a prelate of the first magnitude for Sanctity, Learning, Pattence, and Humility. Under whom, he was observed to have been more than an ordinary proficient in the several arts and sciences. Whilst he was commorant in the University, about to years of age (as his Lordship hath been pleased to impart unto myself:), he first fell into the dislike of the Philosophy of Aristotle. Not for the worthlessness of the Author, to whom he would ever ascribe all high attributes; but for the unfruitfulness of the way; being a Philosophy (as his Lordship used to say) only strong for disputations and contentions, but barren of the production of Works for the benefit of the Life of Man. In which mind he continued to his dying day.

After he had passed the circle of the Liberal Arts; his father thought fit to frame and mould him for the arts of State. And, for that end, sent him over into France, with Sir Amyas Pauler, then employed Ambassador Leger into France: by whom he was, after a while, held fit to be entrusted with some message or advertisement to the Queen; which having performed, with great approbation, he returned back into France again, with intention

to continue for some years, there.

In his absence in France, his father the Lord Keeper died; having colected (as I have heard of knowing persons) a considerable sum of money, which he had separated, with intention to have made a competent purchase of and for the livelihood of this his youngest son; (who was only unprovided for, and though he was the youngest in years, yet he was not the lowest in his fither's affection); but the said purchase being unaccomplished at his father's death, there came no greater share to him, than his single part or portion of the money divisable amongst five brethren. By which means he lived in some straights and necessities in his younger years. For as for that pleasant site and manor of Gorhambury, he came not to it, till many years after, by the death of his dearest brother, Mr. ANTHONY BACON; a gentleman equal to him in height of wit, though inferior to him in the endowments of learning and knowledge. Unto whom he was most nearly conjoined in affection: they two, being the sole male issue of a second venture.

Being returned from travel, he applied himself to the study of the Conmon Law, which he took upon him to be his profession. In which he obtained to great excellency: though he made that (as himself said) but as an accessary and not as his principal study. He wrote several tractates upon that subject. Wherein, though some great masters in the Law did outgo him in bulk and particularities of cases, yet in the true science of the grounds and mysteries of the law he was exceeded by none. In this way, he was, after a while, sworn of the Queen's Counsell Learned, Extraordinary; a grace (if I err not) scarce known before. He seated himself, for the commodity of his studies and practise, amongst the Honourable Society of Gray's Inn; of which House he was a member: where he erected that elegant pile or structure, commonly known by the name of Lord Bacon's Lodgings, which he inhabited, by turns, the most part of his life (some few years only excepted) unto his dying day. In which House, he carried himself with such sweetness, comity, and generosity, that he was much revered and loved by the Readers and Gentlemen of the house.

Notwithstanding that he professed the law for his livelihood and subsistence: yet his heart and affections were more carried after the affairs and places of State; for which, if the Majesty Royal then had been pleased, he was most fit. In his younger years he studied the service and fortunes (as they call them) of that noble but unfortunate Earl, the Earl of Essex; unto whom he was, in a sort, a private and free counsellor, and gave him safe and honourable advice: till, in the end, the Earl inclined too much to the violent and precipitate counsel of others, his adherents and followers; which was his

fate and ruin.

His birth and other capacities qualified him above others of his profession, to have ordinary accesses at court; and to come frequently into the Queen's eye: who would often grace him with private and free communication, not only about matters of his profession or business in law; but also about the arduous affairs of state. From whom she received, from time to time, great satisfaction. Nevertheless, though she cheered him much with the bounty of her countenance; yet she never cheered him with the bounty of her countenance; yet she never cheered him with the bounty of her countenance; yet she never cheered him with the bounty of her hand; having never conferred upon him any ordinary place or means of honour or profit, save only one dry reversion of the Register's Office in the Star Chamber, worth about £1600 per annum: for which he waited in expectation, either fully or nearly twenty years. Of which his Lordship would say, in Queen Elizabeth's time, 'That it was, like another man's ground, buttalling upon his house; which might mend his prospect but it did not fill his barn.' (Nevertheless in the time of King James it fell unto him.) Which might be imputed, not so much to Her Majesty's averseness or disaffection towards him: as to the arts and policy of a great statesman then, who laboured by all industrious and secret means to suppress and keep him down; jest if he had

risen, he might have obscured his glory.

But though he stood long at a stay in the days of his mistress, Queen Elizabeth; yet, after the change and coming in of his new master King James, he made a great progress; by whom, he was much comforted in places of trust, honour, and revenue. I have seen a letter of his Lordship's to King James, wherein he makes acknowledgement: "That he was that master to him, that had raised and advanced him nine times; thrice in dignity, and six times in office." His offices; last I conceive) were, Counsel Learned Extra-ordinary [25th August 1604] to his Majesty, as he had been to Queen Elizabeth; Kinc's Solicitoror Genebal [25th June 1607]: His Majesty's Attorney-Genebal [27th October 1613]; Counsellor of State[Le, Privy Councillor, 7th June 1616], being yet but Attorney; Lord Keeper of the Great Seal of England [3d March 1617]; lastly, Lord Chancellor [4th January 1619]; which two last places, though they be the same in authority and power; yet they differ in patent, height, and favour of the prince. Since whose time none of his successors until this present honourable-lord [Lord Charendon] did ever bear the title of Lord Chancellor. His dignities were first [Knight 23d July 1603]; then Baron of Verulam [11th July 1618]; lastly, Viscount Saint Alban [26th January 1621; besides other good

gifts and bounties of the hand, which His Majesty gave him: both out of the Broad Seal and out of the Alienation Office, to the value in both of £1800 per annum; which with his Manor of Gorhambury and other lands and possessions, near there unto adjoining, amounting to a third part more, he retained

to his dying day.

Towards his rising years, not before, he entered into a married state; and took to wife ALICE, one of the daughters and co-heirs of BENEDICT BARNHAM Esquire, and Alderman of London: with whom he received a sufficiently ample and liberal portion in marriage. Children he had none; which though ample and liberal portion in marriage. Children he had none; which though they be the means to perpetuate our names after our deaths; yet he had other issues to perpetuate his name; the issues of his brain. In which he was ever happy and admired, as Jupiter was in the production of Pallas. Neither did the want of children detract from his good usage of his consort during the intermarriage, whom he presented with much conjugal love and respect, withmany rich gifts and endowments, besides a robe of honour which he invested her withal [i.e., he made her a Peeress], which she wore, until her dying day, being twenty years and more, after his death.

The last five years of his life being withdrawn from civil affairs and from a active life, he employed wholly in contemplation and studies. A thing

an active life, he employed wholly in contemplation and studies. A thing. whereof his Lordship would often speak during his active life; as if he affected to die in the shadow, and not in the light; which also may be found in several passages of his works. In which time, he composed the greatest part of his books and writings, both in English and Latin. Which I will enumerate (as near as I can) in the just order, wherein they were written. The History of the Reign of King Henry the Seventh. Abecedarium Natura, or a Metaphysical piece, which is lost. Historia Ventorum, Historia vitæ et mortis: His toria densi et rari; not yet printed. Historia Gravis, et Levis, which is also lost. A Discourse of A Warwith Spain. A Dialogue touching An Holy War. The fable of the New Atlantis. A Preface to a Digest of the Laws of England. The beginning of the History of the Reign of King Henry the Eigth. De Augmentis Scientiarum; or The Advancement of Learning, put into Latin. with several enrichments and enlargements. Counsels Civil and Moral or with several enrichments and enlargements. Counsels Civil and Moral or his book of Essays, likewise enriched and enlarged. The conversion of certain Psalms into English verse. The translation into Latin; of the History of King Henry the Seventh, of the Counsels Civil and Moral, of the dialogue of The Holy War, of the fable of The New Atlantis; for the benefit of other nations. His revising of his book De Sapientia Veterum, Inquisitio de Magnete, Topica Inquisitionis de Luce et Lumine: both these not yet printed. Lastly, Sylva Sylvannor or the Natural History. These were the faute and productions of his best five ways. His Lordein also desired was fruits and productions of his last five years. His Lordship also designed upon the motion and invitation of his late majesty [Charles I.] to have written The Reign of King Henry the Eigth; but that work perished in the designation merely. God not lending him life to proceed further upon it than only in on-morning's work whereof there is extant an Ex Ungue Leonem, already printed in his Lordship's Miscellany Works.

There is a commemoration due as well to his abilities and virtues, as to the course of his life. Those abilities which commonly go single in other men, though of prime and observable parts; were all conjoined and met in him. Those are Sharpness of Wit, Memory, Judgment, and Elocution. For the former three, his books do abundantly speak them, which, with what sufficency he wrote, let the world judge, but with what celerity he wrote them, I can best testify. But for the fourth, his Elocution, I will only set down, what I heard Sir Walter Raleigh once speak of him, by way of comparison (whose judgment may well be trusted). 'That the Earl of Salisbury was an excellent speaker but no good penman; that the Earl of Northampton (the Lord Henry Howard) was an excellent penman but no good speaker; but that Sir

Francis Bacon was eminent in both.'

I have been induced to think; That if there were a beam of knowledge derived from God upon any man, in these modern times, it was upon him. For though he was a great reader of books, yet he had not his knowledge from books, but from some grounds or notions from within himself: which notwithstanding, he vented with great caution and circumspection. His book of Instauratio Magna (which, in his own account, was the chiefest of his works) was no slight imagination or fancy of his brain; but a settled and concocted notion: the production of many years' labour and travail. I myself have seen at the least twelve copies of the Instauration revised, year by year, one after another; and every year altered and amended in the frame thereof; till, at the last, it came to that model, in which it was committed to the press; as many living creatures do lick their young ones till they bring them to their strength of limbs.

In the composing of his books he did rather drive at a masculine and clear expression than at any fineness or affectation of phrases; and would often ask if the meaning were expressed plainly enough. As being one that accounted words to be but subservient or ministerial to matter, and not the principal: and if his style were polite, it was because he could do no otherwise. Neither was he given to any light conceits, or descanting upon words; but did ever, purposely and industriously, avoid them. For he held such things to be but digressions or diversions from the scope intended, and

to derogate from the weight and dignity of the style.

He was no plodder upon books: though he read much; and that, with great judgement, and rejection of impertinences incident to many authors. For he would ever interlace a moderate relaxation of his mind with his studies; as walking, or taking the air abroad in his coach, or some other befitting recreation. And yet he would lose no time: inasmuch, as upon his first and immediate return, he would fall to reading again: and so suffer no moment of time to slip from him without some present improvement.

His meals were refections of the ear as well as of the stomack: like the Noctes Attica or Convivia Deipno Sophistarum, wherein a man might be refreshed in his mind and understanding no less than in his body. And I have known some of no mean parts, that have professed to make use of their note-books, when they have risen from his table. In which conversations and otherwise, he was no dashing man, as some men are; but ever a counternancer and fosterer of another man's parts. Neither was he one, that would appropriate the speech wholly to himself or delight to out-vie others, but leave a liberty to the co-assessors to take their turns. Wherein he would draw a man on, and allure him to speak upon such a subject as wherein he was peculiarly skilful and would delight to speak: and for himself he contemned no man's observations, but would light his torch at every man's candle.

His opinions and assertions were, for the most part, binding, and not contradicted by any: rather like oracles than discourses. Which may be imputed, either to the well weighing of his sentence by the scales of truth and reason; or else to the reverence and estimation wherein he was commonly had, that no man would contest with him. So that there was no argumentation, or pro and con as they term it, at his table: or if there chanced to be

any, it was carried with much submission and moderation.

I have often observed, and so have other men of great account, that if he had occasion to repeat another man's words after him, he had an use and faculty to dress them in better vestments and apparel than they had before: so that the author should find his own speech much amended and yet the substance of it still retained. As if it had been natural to him to use good forms; as Ovid spake of his faculty of versifying,

Et quod tentabam scribere, versus erat. [And what I was attempting to write, became a verse.]

When his office called him, as he was of the King's Counsell Learned to charge any offenders, either in criminals or capitals: he was never of an insulting or domineering nature over them, but always tender-hearted and carrying himself decently towards the parties: (though it was his duty to charge them home) but yet as one that looked upon the example with the eye of severity, but upon the person with the eye of pity and compassion. And in Civil Business, as he was Councillor of State, he had the best way of advising: not engaging his master in any precipitate or grievous courses, but

in moderate and fair proceedings. The King whom he served, giving him this testimony, 'That he ever dealt in business suavibus modis, which was

the way that was most according to his own heart.'

Neither was he, in his time, less gracious with the subject than with his Sovereign. He was ever acceptable to the House of Commons when he was a member thereof. Being the King's Attorney and chosen to a place in Parliament; he was allowed and dispensed with to sit in the House, which was not permitted to other Attorneys.

was not permitted to other Attorneys.

And as he was a good servant to his master: being never in nineteen years service (as himself averred 'rebuked by the King for any thing relating to his Majesty: so he was a good master to his servants, and rewarded their long attendance with good places freely when they fell into his power; which was the cause that so many young gentlemen of blood and quality sought to enlist themselves in his retinue. And if he were abused by any of them in their places; it was only the error of the goodness of his nature; but

the badges of their indiscretions and intemperances.

This Lord was religious. For though the world be apt to suspect and prejudge great wits and politicians to have somewhat of the Atheist: yet he was conservant with God. As appeareth by several passages throughout the whole current of his writings. Otherwise he should have crossed his own principles, which were, 'That a little philosophy maketh men apt to forget God, as attributing too much to second causes; but depth of philosophy bringeth a man back to God again.' Now I am sure there is no man that will deny him, or account otherwise of him but to have been a deep philosopher: and not only so, but that he was able to render a reason of the hope which was in him, which that writing of his of the Confession of the Faith doth abundantly testify. He repaired frequently, when his health would permit him, to the service of the Church, to hear sermons, to the administration of the Sacrament of the blessed Body and Blood of Christ: and died in the true faith established in the Church of England.

This is most true. He was free from malice, which (as he said himself, he never bred, nor fed. He was no revenger of injuries, which if he had minded he had both opportunity and place high enough, to have done it. He was no heaver of nen out of their places, as delighting in their ruin and undoing. He was no defamer of any man to his Prince. One day, when a great Statesman was newly dead, that had not been his friend, the King asked him what he thought of that Lord which was gone?' He answered 'That he would never have made his majesty's estate better; but he was sure, he would have kept it from being worse.' Which was the worst he would say of him. Which I reckon not amongst his moral but his Christian virtues.

His fame is greater and sounds louder in foreign parts abroad, than at home in his own nation: thereby verifying that Divine sentence, A prophet is not without honour, save it his own country and in his own house. Concerning which, I will give you a taste only, out of a letter written from Italy (the Store-House of refined wits) to the late Earl of Devonshire [d. 1628.] then the Lord Cavendish. "I will expect the new Essays of my Lord Chancellor Bacon; as also his History, with a great deal of desire; and whatsoever else he shall compose. But in particular, of his History I promise myself a thing perfect and singular; especially in Henry the Seventh, where he may exercise the talent of his divine understanding. This Lord is more and more known; and his books here, more and more delighted in; and those men, that have more than ordinary knowledge in human affairs, esteem him one of the most capable spirits of this age. And he is truly such."

Now his fame doth not decrease with days since, but rather increase. Divers of his works have been anciently and yet lately translated into other tongues both learned and modern, by foreign pens. Several persons of quality, during his Lordship's life, crossed the seas on purpose to gain an opportunity of seeing him and discoursing with him; whereof one carried his Lordship's picture from head to foot, over with him to France, as a thing which he foresaw, would be much desired there: that so they might enjoy

the image of his person as well as the images of his brain, his books. Amongst the rest, the Marquis Fiat, a French nobleman who came ambassador into England in the beginning of Queen Mary, wife to King Charles; was taken with an extraordinary desire of seeing him; for which he made way by a friend. And when he came to him, being then through weakness confined to his bed, the Marquis saluted him with this high expression; 'That his Lordship had been ever to him like the angels, of whom he had often heard, and read much of them in books, but he never saw them.' After which they contracted an intimate acquaintance: and the Marquis did so revere him that besides his frequent visits, they wrote letters, one to the other, under the titles and appelations of father and son. As for his many salutations by letters from foreign worthies devoted to leaning, I forbear to mention them, because that is a thing common to other men of learning or note together with him.

But yet in this matter of his fame, I speak in the comparative only and not in the exclusive. For his reputation is great in his own nation also, especially amongst those that are of a more acute and sharper judgement. Which I will exemplify but with two testimonies and no more. The former, when his History of King Henry the Seventh was to come forth, it was delivered to the old Lord Brooke to be perused by him; who, when he had despatched it, returned it to the author, with this eulogy, 'Commend me to my Lord, and bid him take care to get good paper and ink: for the work is incomparable.' The other, shall be that of Doctor Samuel Collins, late Provost of King's College in Cambridge, a man of no vulgar wit, who affirmed unto me,
'That when he had read the book Of the Advancement of Learning, but the found himself in a case to begin his studies anew and that he had lost all the time of his studying before.'

It hath been desired that something should be signified touching his diet and the regiment of his health: of which in regard to his universal insight into nature, he may, perhaps, be, to some, an example. For his diet, it was a Plentiful and liberal diet, as his stomach would bear it, than a restrained. Which he also commended in his book of *The History of Life and Death*. In his younger years, he was much given to the finer and lighter sort of meats, as of fowls and such like: but afterwards, when he grew more judicious, he preferred the stronger meats, such as the shambles afforded, as those meats which breed the more firm and substantial juices of the body and less dissipable. Upon which, he would often make his meal; though he had other meats upon the table. You may be sure he would not neglect that himself, which he so much extolled in his writings; and that was the use of Nitre: whereof ne took in the quantity of about three grains, in thin warm broath every morning for thirty years together next before his death. And for physic he did indeed live physically but not miserably. For he took only a maceration of rhuburb infused into a draught of white wine and beer, mingled together for the space of half an hour, once in six or seven days, immediately before his meal, whether dinner or supper, that it might dry the body less; which, as he said, did carry away frequently the grosser humours of the body, and not diminish or carry away any of the spirits, as sweating doth. And, this was no grievous thing to take. As for other physic, in an ordinary way, whatsoever hath been vulgarly spoken, he took not. His receipt for the gout, which did constantly ease him of his pain within two hours, is already set down in the end of the Natural History.

It may seem the moon had some principal place in the figure of his nativity [!] For the moon was never in her passion or eclipsed, but he was surprised with a sudden fit of fainting: and that, though he observed not, nor took any previous knowledge of the eclipse thereof. And as soon as the eclipse ceased, he was restored to his former strength again.

He died on the 9th day of April in the year 1626; in the early morning of the day, then celebrated for our Saviour's Resurrection, in the 66th year of his age, at the Earl of Arundel's house in Highgate, near London. To which place he casually repaired about a week before; God so ordaining that he should die there of a gentle fever, accidentally accompanied with a great

cold; whereby the defluxion of rheum fell so plentifully upon his breast that he died by suffocation. And was buried in St. Michael's Church at Saint Albans: being the place designed for his burial by his last will and testament; both because the body of his mother was interred there, and because it was the only church then remaining within the precincts of old Verulam. Where he hath a monument erected for him of white marble, (by the care and gratitude of Sir Thomas Meutys Knight, formerly his Lordship's secretary, afterwards clerk of the King's Honourable Privy Council, under two kings) representing his full portraiture, in the posture of studying: with an inventions compared by the accomplished continuous and continuous contraction. inscription composed by that accomplished gentleman and rare wit, Sir Henry Wotton.

But howsoever his body was mortal, yet no doubt his memory and works will live, and will, in all probability, last as long as the world lasteth. In order to which, I have endeavoured, after my poor ability, to do this honour

to his Lordship, by way of conducing to the same,

BEN IONSON'S TESTIMONY TO BACON.

In a collection of passages entitled, Timber; or, Discoveries made upon Men and Matter; written after 1630. Ben Jonson writes:
"One, though hee be excellent, and the chiefe, is not to bee imitated alone. For never no Imitator, ever grew up to his Author; likenesse is alwayes on this side Truth: Yet there hapn'd, in my time, one noble Speaker, who was full of gravity in his speaking. His language, (where hee could spare, or passe by a jest) was nobly censorions. No man ever spake more neatly, more treatly more weightlifty or sufferal lesses munitages lesses in what presly, more weightily, or suffer'd lesse emptinesse, lesse idlenesse, in what hee utter'd. No member of his speech but consisted of the owne graces. His hearers could not cough, or looke aside from him, without losse. Hee commanded where hee spoke, and had his Judges angry, and pleased at his devotion. No man had their affection more in his power. The feare of every man that heard him, was, lest hee should make an end." p. 101.

"I have ever observ'd it, to have beene the office of a wise Patriot, among the greatest affaires of the State, to take care of the Common-wealth of Learning. For Schooles, they are the Seminaries of State: and nothing is worthier the study of a States-man, then that part of the Republicke, which we call the advancement of Letters. Witnesse the care of Iulius Casar; who in the heat of the civill warre, writ his bookes of Analogie, and dedicated them to Tully. This made the late Lord S. Albane, entitle his worke, nouum Organum. Which though by the most of superficial men; who noturn Organum. Which though by the most of superficiall men; who cannot get beyond the Title of Nominals, it is not penetrated, nor understood; it really openeth all defects of Learning whatsoever; and is a Booke,

Qui longum noto scriptori porriget ævum.

My conceit of his Person was never increased toward him, by his place, or honours. But I have, and doe reverence him for the greatnesse, that was onely proper to himselfe, in that hee seem'd to mee ever, by his worke one of the greatest men, and most worthy of admiration, that had beene in many Ages. In his adversity I ever prayed, that God would give him strength: for Greatnesse hee could not want. Neither could I condole in a word, or syllable for him; as knowing no Accident could doe harme to vertue, but rather helpe to make it manifest. p. 102. Works. ii. Ed. 1640.

AUBREY'S GOSSIP.

OHN AUBREY, in his MS. notes, the dedication of which to Anthony Wood is dated 15th June 1580, which are printed at the end of Letters written by eminent persons, &c. London. 1813. gives us the following further information about Lord Bacon.

In his Lordship's prosperity Sr. Fulke Grevil, Lord Brooke, was his great friend and acquaintance, but when he was in disgrace and want, he was so unworthy as to forhid his butler to let him have any more small beer, which he had often sent for, his stomack being nice, and the small beere of Graves Inne not liking his pallet. This has done his memorie more dishonour then Sr Ph. Sydney's friendship engraven on his monument hath donne him

honour.

Richard, Earle of Dorset, was a great admirer and friend of the Ld. Ch. Bacon, and was wont to have Sr Tho. Ballingsley along with him to remember and putt downe in writing my Lord's sayinges at table. Mr. Ben Ionson was one of his friends and acquaintance, as doeth appeare by his excellent verses on his Lops birth day, in his 2nd vol. and in his Vnderwoods. where he gives him a character, and concludes, That about his time, and within his view, were borne all the witts that could honour a nation or help within his view, were borne all the witts that could honour a nation or help studie. He came often to Sr John Danvers at Chelsey. Sir John told me that when his Lop had wrote the *Hist. of Hen.* 7, he sent the manuscript copie to him to desire his opinion of it before it 'twas printed. Qd Sir John, Your Lordship knowes that I am no scholar. Tis no matter, said my Lord, I know what a scholar can say; I would know what you can say. Sir John read it, and gave his opinion what he misliked (which I am sorry I have forgott) which my Ld. acknowledged to be true, and mended it. "Why," said he, "a schollar would never have told me this."

Mr. Tho. Hobbes (Malmesburiensis) was beloved by his Lop., who was wont to have him walke in his delicate groves, when he did meditate: and when a notion darted into his mind, Mr. Hobbes was presently to write it downe, and his Lop, was wont to say that he did it better than any one els about him; for that many times, when he read their notes he scarce understood what they writt, because they understood it not clearly themselves. In short, all that were *great and good* loved and honoured him. Sir Edward

Coke, Ld. Chiefe Justice, alwayes envyed him, and would be undervalueing his lawe. I knew old lawyers that remembred it.

He was Lord Protector during King James' progresse into Scotland, and gave audience in great state to Ambassadors in the banquetting house at Whitehall. His Lop, would many time have musique in the next roome where he meditated. The Aviary at Yorke House was built by his Lop; it did cost 300 lib. Every meale, according to the season of the yeare, he had his table strewed with sweet herbes and flowers, which he sayd did refresh his spirits and memorie. When his Lop. was at his country house at Gorhambery. St. Alban's seemed as if the court had been there, so nobly did he live. His servants had liveries with his crest; * his watermen were more employed by gentlemen then even the kings.

King James sent a buck to him, and he gave the keeper fifty pounds. He was wont to say to his servant, Hint, (who was a notable thrifty man, and loved this world, and the only servant he had that he could never gett to become bound for him) "The world was made for man (Hunt), and not man for the world." Hunt left an estate of 1006 lib, per any, in Somerset.

None of his servants durst appeare before him without Spanish leather

bootes: for he would smell the neates leather, which offended him.

The East India merchants presen el his Lop, with a cabinet of jewells.

which his page, Mr. Cockaine, received, and deceived his Lord.

His Lordship was a good Poet, but conceal'd as appears by his Letters.

See excellent verses of his Lop's., which Mr. Farnaby translated into Greeke, and printed both in his Ανθολογία, sc.

The world's a bubble, and the life of man, Less than a span, &c.

As this translation by Lord Bacon is not generally known, we give it entire, T. Farnaby's Epigramata Selecta, taken from various authors, with his Greek translations of them upon opposite pages, was published at London in 1629, under the title Η της ανθολογίας Ανθολογία. Florilegium Epigrammatum Gracorum, eorumque Latino versu à varijs redditorum.

Among the Eprigrams on 'Human life' is one by John Gorræus: after

which comes,

Huc elegantem viri clarissimi Domini Verulamij παρωδίαν adjicere adlubuit.

> THe world's a bubble, and the life of man lesse then a span, In his conception wretched, from the wombe, so to the tombe ; Curst from the cradle, and brought up to yeares, with cares and feares Who then to fraile mortality shall trust, But limmes the water, or but writes in dust.

Yet since with sorrow here we live opprest: what life is best!

Courts are but only superficiall scholes to dandle fooles. The rurall parts are turn'd into a den of sauage men.

And wher's a city from all vice so free, But may be term'd the worst of all the three?

Domesticke cares afflict the husbands bed, or paines his head. Those that live single take it for a curse or doe things worse Some would have children, those that have them, mone, or wish them some. What is it then to have or have no wife,

But single thraldome, or a double strife?

Our owne affections still at home to please, is a disease. To crosse the sea to any foreine soyle perills and toyle, Warres with their noyse affright vs: when they cease, Ware worse in peace. What then remaines? but that we still should cry. Not to be borne, or being borne to dye.]

His Lordship being in Yorke house garden looking on Fishers, as they were throwing their nett, asked them what they would take for their draught; they answered so much: his Lop. would offer them no more but so much. They drew up their nett, and it were only 2 or 3 little fishes, his Lop. then told them, it had been better for them to haue taken his offer. They replied. they hoped to have a better draught; but, said his Lop. Hope is a good breakfast, but an ill supper, Upon his being in disfavour, his servants suddenly went away, he compared

them to the flying of the vermin when the house was falling.

One told his Lordship it was now time to look about him. He replyed, 'I

doe not looke about me, I looke above me.'

His Lordship would often drinke a good draught of strong beer (March beer) to-bed-wards, to lay his working fancy asleep: which otherwise would keepe him from sleeping great part of the night.

Three of his Lordship's servants [Sir Tho. Meautys, Mr. Bushell

Mr. . . . Idney.] kept their coaches, and some kept race-horses.

... His Favourites tooke bribes, but his Lop, alwayes gave judgement secundem aguum et bonum. His Decrees in Chancery stand firme, there are fewer of his decrees reverst, than of any other Chancellor.

He had a delicate, lively hazel eie; Dr. Harvey told me it was like the eie

of a viner.

[Aubrey in his Life of Hobbes. Vol. II. Part ii. p. 602 of the same work, states. "The Lord Chancellor Bacon loved to converse with him. He assisted his Lordship in translating severall of his essayes into Latin, one I well remember is that, Of the Greatness of Cities: [? Kingdoms] the rest I haue forgott. His Lordship was a very contemplative person, and was wont to contemplate in his delicious walks at Gorhambery, and dictate to Mr. Bushell, or some other of his gentlemen, that attended him with ink and

paper ready to set downe presently his thoughts."]

Mr. Hobbes told me that the cause of his Lp's death was trying an experiment. As he was taking an aire in a coach with Dr. Witherborne (a periment. As he was taking an aire in a coach with the strength of Scotchman, Physician to the King) towards Highgate, snow lay on the ground, and it came into my Lord's thoughts, why flesh might not be preserved in snow as in salt. They were resolved they would try the experiment presently. They alighted out of the coach, and went into a poore woman's house at the bottome of Highgate hill, and bought a hen, and made woman shouse at the bottome of ringiate hin, and buight a hell, and hade the woman exenterate it, and then stuffed the bodie with snow, and my Lord did help to doe it himselfe. The snow so chilled him, that he immediately fell so extremely ill, that he could not returne to his lodgings, (I suppose they at Graye's Inne,) but went to the Earl of Arundell's house at Highgate, where they putt him into a good bed warmed with a panne, but it was a damp bed that had not been layn in about a yeare before, which gave him such a cold that in 2 or 3 dayes, as I remember he [Mr. Hobbes] told me, he dyed of suffocation. Vol. II. Part i. p. 221-7.

INTRODUCTION.

RANCIS BACON, already pondering over the great 'Inflauration,' wrotethefollowing letter to Lord Burghley (who had taken Bacon's aunt for his fecond wife) in the year 1591, fix years previous to the appearance of the first of these Essays.

It is a most able summary of his life and purposes up to that time, and is expressed with excellent power and earnestness.

WITH as much confidence, as mine own honest, and faithfull My Lord. When a much connence, as mine own honest, and faithful Devotion unto your Service, and your honourable Correspondence unto me, and my poor estate, can breed in a Man, do I commend myself unto your Lordskip. I waxe now somewhat ancient: One and thirty yeares, is a great deal of sand, in the Houre-glasse. My Health, I thank God, I find confirmed; And I do fear, that Action shall impair it; Because I account, my ordinary course of Study, and Mediation to be more My Lord. painfull, than most parts of Action are. I ever bare a mind, in some middle place, that I could discharge,) to serve her Majesty; Not as a Man, born under Sol, that loveth Honour; Nor under Jupiter, that loveth Business (for the Contemplative Planet carrieth me away wholly,) but as a Man born under an Excellent Soveraign, that deserveth the Dedication, of all Mens Abilities. Besides, I doe not finde, in myself, so much Self-love, but that the greater parts, of my Thoughts are, to deserve well, (if I were able,) of my Frends, and namely of your *Lordship*; who being the *Atlas*, of this *Com*monwealth, the Honour of my House, and the second Founder of my poor Estate, I am tyed, by all duties, both of a good Patriot, and of an unworthy Estate, tam tyck, by an other, both of a good ratifact, and of an obliged Servant, to employ whatsoever I am, to doe you Service. Again, the Meanness of my Estate, doth somewhat move me: For though I cannot accuse my Self, that I am either prodigal, or sloathfull, yet my Health is not to spend, nor my Course to get. Lastly, I confesse, that I have as, vast Contemplative Ends, as I have moderate Civil Ends: For I have taken all Knowledge to be my Province; And if I could purge it, of two sort of Rovers, whereof the one, with frivolous Disputation. Confuta-tions, and Verbosities: The other, with blind Experiments, and Auricular Traditions, and Impostures; hath committed so many spoils; I hope, I should bring in, Industrious Observations, grounded Conclusions, and profitable Inventions and Discoveries, the best State of that *Province*. This, whether it be Curiosity, or Vain-glory, or Nature, or, (if one take it favourably,) Philanthropia, is so fixed in my minde, as it cannot be removed. And I doe easily see, that Place of any Reasonable Countenance, doth bring commandement, of more Wits, than of a Mans own; which is the Thing I greatly affect. And for your Lordship, perhaps you shall not finde more Strength, and less Encounter, in any other. And if your Lordship, shall finde now, or at any time, that I doe seek, or affect, any place, whereunto any that is nearer unto your Lordship, shall be concurrent, say then, that I am a most dishonest Man. And if your Lordship, will not carry me on, I am a most dishonest Man. And if your Lordskip, will not carry me on, I will not doe as Anaxagoras did, who reduced himself, with Contemplation, unto voluntary poverty; But this I will doe, I will sell the Intervitance, that I have, and purchase some Lease, of quick Revenew, or some Office of Gain, that shall be executed by Deputy, and so give over, all Care of Service, and become some sorry Book maker, or a true Pioneer, in that Mine of Truth, which (he said) lay so deep. This which I have writ unto your Lordskip, is rather Thoughts, than Words, being set down without all Art, Disguizing, or Reservation. Wherein I have done honour, both to your Lordskip's Wisdom, in judging, that that will be best believed of your Lordskip, which is truest; And to your Lordskip's good nature, in retaining nothing from you. And even so, I wish your Lordskip's all Happiness, and to my self, Means and Occasion, to be added, to my faithfull desire, to doe you Service.

From my Lodgings at Grays Inne.

[Resuscitatio, p. 95. Ed. 1657.] [Resuscitatio, p. 95. Ed. 1657.] From my Lodgings at Grays Inne.

2. No right judgment can be formed of these Essays, in relation to Bacon's powers: unless some glimpse, however brief and imperfect, be obtained of the 'vast contemplative ends' to which he chiefly confectated his magnificent powers for the last thirty-five years of his most busy life. Mr. Hallam has given us an excellent sketch of that New Philosophy, which tasked even the mighty intellect of the Lord Chancellor simply to design.

In the dedication of the Novum Organum to James in 1620, Bacon says that he had been about some such work near thirty years, "so as I made no haste." "And the reason," he adds "why I have published it now, specially being imperfect, is, to speak plainly, because I number my days, and would have it saved. There is another reason of my so doing, which is to try whether I can get help in one intended part of this work, namely, the compiling of a natural and experimental history, which must be the main foundation of a true and active philosophy." He may be presumed at least to have made a very considerable progress in his undertaking, before the close of the sixteenth century. But it was first promulgated to the world by the publication of his Treatise on the Advancement of Learning in 1605. In this, indeed, the whole of the Baconian philosophy may be said to be implicitly contained, except perhaps the second book of the Novum Organum. In 1623, he published his more celebrated Latin translation of this work, if it is not rather to be deemed a new one, entitled De Augmentis Scientiarm. I find, upon comparison, that more than two thirds of this treatise are a version, with slight interpolation or omission, from the Advancement of Learning, the remainder being new matter. \$\mu\$. 168.

The Instauratio Magna, dedicated to James, is divided, according to the magnificent ground-plot of its author, into six parts. The first of these he entitles Partitiones Scientiarum, comprehending a general summary of that knowledge which mankind already possess; yet not merely treating this affirmatively, but taking special notice of whatever should seem deficient or imperfect; sometimes even supplying, by illustration or precept, these vacant spaces of science. The first part he declares to be wanting in the Instauratio. It has been chiefly supplied by the treatise De Augmentis Scientiarum; yet perhaps even that does not fully come up to the amplitude of this design.

The second part of the Instauratio was to be, as he expresses it, "the science of a better and more perfect use of reason in the investigation of things, and of the true aids of the understanding," the new logic, or inductive method, in which what is eminently styled the Baconian philosophy consists. This, as far as he completed it, is known to all by the name of Novum Organum. But he seems to have designed a fuller treatise in place of this; the aphorisms into which he has digested it being rather the heads or theses of chapters, at leas, in many places, that would have been further expanded. (It is entitled by himself. Pars secunda Summa, digesta in aphorisms.) And it is still more important to observe, that he did not achieve the whole of this summary that he had promised; but out of nine divisions of his method we only possess the first, which he denominates pravogativa instantiarum. Eight others, of exceeding importance in logic, he has not touched at all, except to describe them by name and to promise more. "We will speak, he says," in the first place, of prerogative instances; secondly, of the aids of induction; thirdly, of the rectification of induction; fourthly, of varying the investigation according to the nature of the subject; fifthly, of prerogative natures (or objects), as to investigation, or the choice of what shall be first inquired ino; sixthly, of the boundaries of inquiry, or the synoptical view of all natures in the world; seventhly, on the application of inquiry to practice, and what relates to man; eighthly, on the preparations (Parascevis' for inquiry; lastly, on the ascending and descending scale of axioms." All these, after the first, are wanting, with the exception of some slightly handled in separate parts of Bacon's writings; and the deficiency, which is so important.

seems to have been sometimes overlooked by those who have written about

the Novum Organum.

The third part of the Instauratio Magna was to comprise an entire natural history, diligently and scrupulously collected from experience of every kind; including under that name of natural history every thing wherein the art of man has been employed on natural substances either for practice or experiment; no method of reasoning being sufficient to guide us to truth as to natural things, if they are not themselves clearly and exactly apprehended. It is unnecessary to observe that very little of this immense chart of nature could be traced by the hand of Bacon, or in his time. His Centuries of Natural History containing about one thousand observed facts and experiments, are a very slender contribution towards such a description of universal nature as he contemplated. These form no part of the Instauratio Magna, and had been compiled before [This is contradictory to Dr. Rawley's statement on next page]. But he enumerates one hundred and thirty particular histories which ought to be drawn up for this great work. A few of these he has given in a sort of skeleton, as samples rather of the method of collecting facts, than of the facts themselves; namely, the History of Winds, of Life and Death, of Density and Rarity, of Sound and Hearing.

The fourth part, called Scala Intellectus, is also wanting with the exception of a very few introductory pages. "By these tables," says Bacon, "we mean not such examples as we subjoin to the several rules of our method, but types and models, which place before our eyes the entire process of the mind in the discovery of truth, selecting various and remarkable instances." These he compares to the diagrams of geometry, by attending to which the

steps of the demonstration become perspicuous

In a fifth part of the Instauratio Magna Bacon had designed to give a specimen of the new philosophy which he hoped to raise after a due use of his natural history and inductive method, by way of anticipation or sample of the whole. He calls it Prodomi, sive Anticipationes Philosophia Secunde: And some fragments of this part are published by the names of Cogita et Visa, Cogitationes de Natura Rerum, Filum Lalyrunthi, and a few more, being as much, in all probability, as he had reduced to writing. In his own metaphor, it was to be like the payment of interest, till the principal could be raised, Languam fanus reddatur, donec sors haberi possit.

For he despaired of ever completing the work by a sixth and last portion, which was to display a perfect system of philosophy, deduced and confirmed by a legitimate, sober, and exact enquiry according to the method which he had invented and laid down. "To perfect this last part is above our powers and beyond our hopes. We may, as we trust, make no despicable beginning, the destinies of the human race must complete it; in such a manner, perhaps, as men, looking only at the present, would not readily conceive. For upon this will depend not a speculative good, but all the fortunes of mankind and

all their power.

And with an eloquent prayer that his exertions may be rendered effectual to the attainment of truth and happiness, this introductory chapter of the *Instauratio*, which announces the distribution of its portions, concludes.

Such was the temple, of which Bacon saw in vision before him the stately front and decorated pediments, in all their breadth of light and harmony of proportion, while long vistas of receding columns and glimpses of internal splendour revealed a glory that it was not permitted to him to com-

prehend.

In the treatise *De Augmentis Scienttarum* and in the *Novum Organum*, we have less, no doubt, than Lord Bacon, under different conditions of life, might have achieved; he might have been more emphatically the high priest of nature, if he had not been the chancellor of James I.; but no one man could have filled up the vast outline which he alone, in that stage of the world, could have so boldly sketched.—*Intro to the Lit. of Europe*, iii. 165-175, Ed. 1839.

Bacon did 'get help' in his Natural History from his chaplain, Dr. Rawley: and among the many writings of his 'writing time, i.e. from his fall till his death, this work was completed. It was published after his decease under the title of 'Sylva Sylvarum: or A Naturall Historie, in ten Centuries,' London, 1627. fol., with the following dedication to Charles I.: --

May it please your most Excellent Majestie;

The whole Body of the Naturall Historie, either designed, or written, by the late Lo. Viscount S. Alban, was dedicated to your Maiestie, in his Booke De Ventis, about foure yeeres past, when your Maiestie was Prince: Booke De Ventis, about foure yeeres past, when your Maiestie was Prince; So as there needed no new Dedication of this Worke, but only, in all numble-nesse, to let your Maiestie know, it is yours. It is true, if that Lo. had lived, your Maiestie, ere long, had beene invoked, to the Protection of another Historie; Whereof, not Natures Kingdome, as in this, but these of your Maiesties, (during the Time and Raigne of King Henry the Eighth) had beene the Subject: Which since it died vader the Designation meerely, these in a think left. there is nothing left, but your Maiesties Princely Goodnesse, graciously to accept of the Vndertakers Heart, and Intentions; who was willing to haue parted, for a while, with his Darling Philosophie, that hee might haue attended your Royall Commandement, in that other Worke. Thus much I haue beene bold, in all lowlinesse, to represent vnto your Maiestie, as one that was trusted with his Lordships Writings, euen to the last. And as this Worke affecteth the Stampe of your Maiesties Royall Protection, to make it more currant to the World, So vnder the Protection of this Worke, I presume in all humblenesse to approach your Maiesties presence; And to offer it vp into your Sacred Hands.

Your MAIESTIES most Loyal and Devoted Subject, W. RAWLEY.

After which Dr. Rawley gives the following Epiftle to the Reader, which 'is the same, that should have been prefixed to this Booke, if his Lordship had lived.' Bacon was singularly fortunate in having fuch a chaplain: and we are ever indebted to him for fuch a revelation, both of the spirit and method of the New Philosophy, as hereinafter follows:

Hauing had the Honour to bee continually with my Lord, in compiling Haung had the Honour to bee continually with my Lora, in compiling of this Worke; And to be employed therein; I haue thought it not amisse (with his Lordships good leane and liking.) for the better satisfaction of those that shall reade it, to make knowne somewhat of his Lordships Intentions, touching the Ordering, and Publishing of the same. I haue heard his Lordship often say; that if hee should haue serued the glory of his owne Name, hee had been better not to haue published this Naturall History: For it may seeme an Indigested Heap of Particulars; and cannot haue that Lustre, which Bookers cast into Methods haue: But that he resolved to preferra the which Bookes cast into Methods haue; But that he resolued to preferre the good of Men, and that which might best secure it, before any thing that might haue Relation to Himselfe. And hee knew well, that there was no other way open, to vnloose Mens minds, being bound; and (as it were) Maleficiate, by the Charmes of deceiuing Notions, and Theories; and therby made Impotent for Generation of VVorkes: But onely no wher to depart from the Sense, and cleare experience; But to keepe close to it, especially in the beginning: Besides, this Naturall History was a Debt of his, being Designed and set downe for a third part of the Instauration. I have also heard his Lordship downe for a third part of the Instantation. I have also heard his Education discourse, that Men (no doubt) will thinke many of the Experiments conteined in this Collection to be Vulgar or Triuall; Meane and Sordid; Curious and Fruitlesse; and therefore he wisheth, that they would have perpetually before their Eyes, what is now in doing; And the Difference between this Naturall Histories, which are Extant, being gathered for Delight and Vse, are full of pleasant Descriptions

and Pictures; and affect and seek after Admiration, Rarities, and Secrets. But contrariwise, the Scope which his Lordship intendeth, is to write such a Naturall History, as may be Fundamentall to the Erecting and Building of a true Philosophy: For the Illumination of the Vnderslanding; the Extracting of Axiomes; and the producing of many Noble Works, and Effects. Factung of Axiomes; and the producing of many Noble Works, and Effects. For he hopeth, by this meanes, to acquit Himselfe of that, for which hee taketh Himselfe in a sort bound: And that is, the Aduauncement of all Learning and Sciences. For having in this present VVorke Collected the Materials for the Building; And in his Novum Organum of which his Lordship is yet to publish a Second Part, set downe the Instruments and Directions for the Worke; Men shall now bee wanting to themselves, if they raise not Knowledge to that perfection, whereof the Nature of Mortall men is canable. And in this behalfe I have head his Lordship strake accomplaint. is capable. And in this behalfe, I have heard his Lordship speake complainingly; That his Lordship (who thinketh hee deserueth to be an Architect in this building, should be forced to be a VVork-man and a Labourer; And to digge the Clay, and burne the Brick; And more then that, (according to the hard Condition of the Jisraelites at the latter end) to gather the Strawe and Stubble, ouer all the Fields, to burn the Bricks withall. For he knoweth, that except hee doe it, nothing will be done: Men are so sett to despise the Meanes of their owne good. And as for the Basenes of many of the Experiments: As long as they be Gods VVorks, they are Honoura e enough. And for the Vulgarnes of them; true Axiomes must be drawne from plaine Experience, and not from doubtfull; And his Lordships course is, to make VVonders Plaine, and not Plaine things VVonders; And that Experience likewise must be broken and grinded, and not whole, or as it groweth. And for Vse; his Lord-hip hath often in his Mouth, the two kindes of Experiments; Experimenta Fructifera, and Experimenta Luctiera: Experiments of Vse, and Experiments of Vight; And he reported himself, whether he were not a stronge Man, that should thinke that Light hath no Vse, because it hath no Matter. Further, his Lordship thought good also, to add vnto many of the Experiments themselves, some Glosse of the Causes: that in the succeeding work of Interpreting Nature, and Framing Axiomes, all things may be in more Readines. And for the Causes herein by Him assigned; his Lordship perswadeth Himselfe, they are farr more certaine, then those that are rendred by Others; Not for any Excellency of his owne Witt, as his Lordship is wont to say) but in respect of his continuall Conversation with Nature, and Experience. He did consider likewise, that by this Addition of Causes, Mens mindes (which make so much hast to find out the Causes of things:) would not think themselves vtterly lost, in a Vast VV ood of Experience, but stay vpon these Causes, (such as they are) a little, till true Axiones may be more fully discuered. I have heard his Lordship say also, that one great Reason, why he would not put these Particulars into any exact Method, [though he that looketh attentially into them, shall finde that they have a secret Order) was, because hee conceived them, shall make that they have a secret Order) was, because hee conceiled that other men would now thinke, that they could doe the like; And so goe on with a further Collection; which if the Method had been Exact many would have despaired to attaine by Imitation. As for his Lordships loue of Order, I can refer any Man to his Lordships Latine Booke, De Augmentis Scientiarum; which (if my ludgment be any thing) is written in the Exactest Order, that I know any Writing to bee. I will conclude with an vsuall Speech of his Lordships. That this VVorke of his Naturall History, is the World or Connada, it and to be Man bour medic. For what it had World, as God made it, and not as Men haue made it; For that it hath nothing of Imagination.

W. Rawley.

After Sylva Sylvarum appeared in the same impression, the 'New Atlantis, A Worke vnfinished,' respecting which Dr. Rawley thus writes To the Reader.

This Fable my Lord denised, to the end that He might exhibite therein, This Fable my Lord deuised, to the end that He might exhibite therein, a Modell or Description of a Colledge, instituted for the Interpreting of Nature, and the Producing of Great and Marneilous Works for the Benefit of Men; Vnder the name of Salomons House, or the Colledge of the Sixe Dayes Works. And euen so farre his Lordship hath proceeded, as to finish that Part: Certainely, the Modell is more Vast, and High, than can possibly be imitated in all things. Notwithstanding most Things therin are within Mens Power to effect. His Lordship thought also in this present Fable, to have composed a Frame of Lawes, or of the best State or Mould of a Common-wealth; But foreseeing it would be a long Worke, his Desire of Collecting the Naturall History diverted him, which He preferred many degrees before it. degrees before it.

This Worke of the New Atlantis (as much as concerneth the English Edition) his Lordship designed for this Place; In regard it hath so neare affinity (in one Part of it) with the Preceding Naturall History.

W. Rawley.

3. We have thought thus much—and we would suggest that every clause and statement quoted should be thoroughly confidered—concerning Bacon's Life and Operations, indifpenfable to a fair confideration of thefe Effays. For they formed no effential part of his work; they entered not into his conceptions of the proficiency and advancement of knowledge. Like his History of Henry VII., written at the request of King James, and his intended *History of Henry VIII*., which he promifed to Prince Charles; these Counsels are by-works of his life, the labours, as it were, of his left hand; his right being occupied in grafping the Instauration.

It was indeed the continued fuccefs of the fmall tract of 1597. containing a nearly equal number of Essays and Sacred Meditations, that recommended this form of writing to their author's attention; and induced him-writing rapidly in fuch few moments as he could spare from the avocations of his legal, political, and court life; or the more engroffing revolvency of his Philosophy—to increase them both in number and weight. So in the midft of many other writings they were inceffantly corrected and added to, until in the Latin edition of 1638, they affumed their final shape, in that language, in which he thought they might 'last as long as Bookes last.

4. What kind of writing is an Effay? A question somewhat hard precifely to answer. Usually we are taught that the word Essay (from the French Essayer) is synonymous with Assay or Trial-Examination, and equivalent to Attempt. The word, however, both in its earliest and more recent use, is really but a modest depreciation of a man's own Opinions and Reflections. So that, though he should give you his keenest observation, his ripest thought, his clearest utterance; he disclaims their intrinsic importance and value, and bids you take them but for simple Attempts. The word itself has nothing necessarily to do with any specific manner of the writing. Montaigne, Bacon, and Addison, were Master-Essayists; yet their compositions are wholly unlike in ftyle and form.

The vagueness of the name, Essays, has led in recent times to the use of a number of fectional sub-titles. Essays in Philosophy are known as Differtations or Treatises; Essays in Science as Papers; Essays in Criticism as Reviews; and Essays in Politics as Articles. All these, however, do separate themselves from the true Essay, which seems to be more especially connected as to its subject with Literature and Human Nature. There is also about an Essay a certain good-humoured steadiness quite separating it from Squibs, Skits, and fuch like; and from bitterness and fatire of all kinds. So its weakness is a liability to a wordy dulness: and it requires the hand of a Master for the smooth strong writing of a good Essay.

As regards the fubstance of an Essay, Bacon's own definition dispersed meditations,' may be accepted as true; using Meditation in its full fense of 'considerate fixed contemplation,' the going round about a thing, observing its various aspects and

profpects.

Of the three writers, Montaigne, Bacon, and Addison: the last is by far the most perfect Essayist. For an Essay is a thing to rest in, just as an Heroic Poem is a thing to soar with. It confifts of thought circumfcribed to one principal fubject. should be moderately short, concatenated in thought, and modeftly illuminated with fancy and illustration. Above all, and this is half the matter, it should be set forth with the greatest possible clearness of expression, the utmost attainable charm of good writing. Some of Addison's papers in the Spectator afford examples of the highest finish and skill in English Essay writing.

The present Edition, by fixing the latest date affiguable for its composition, to every portion of these Essays, explains a certain incongruity of style between many of them, by showing the change that supervened in Bacon's manner of writing them.

this, the following points may be briefly noted.

a. The composition, correction, and augmentation of these Essays stretched over a period of thirty years. They were commenced under Elizabeth, increased under James I., and assumed their final shape under Charles I. An Author rarely maintains one style for so long a period, let him write much or little. The ordinary changes and vicissitudes of private life tell on us all, and our expression brightens or beclouds, as our years wane. To this must be added the great toil, drive, and occupation of Bacon's public life: and the vast burden of the New Philosophy that constantly rested on his spirit. The

marvel is that he ever found time to write the Essays at all.

b. Bacon tells us in Adv. of Learning. ii. fol. 20. Ed. 1605. that "In Philosophy, the contemplations of Mandoe either penetrate vinto God, or are circumferred to Nature, or are reflected or reuerted vpon himselfe. Out of which seuerall inquiries, there doe arise three knowledges, Divine Philosophy, NATURAL PHILOSOPHY, and HUMANE PHILOSOPHY OR HUMANITIE. For all things are marked and stamped with this triple Character of the power of God, the difference of Nature, and the vse of Man.' These Essays in their method and form are simply the turning of his system of investigating Nature vpon Humanity and Society.

c. The first ten Essays are not true Essays. They are severally a succes-

sion of the sharpest Aphorisms, each isolated from the other with a \P , and otherwise independent. They are devoid of quotation, illustration, and almost of explanation: and appear like a series of oracular sentences.

to When Bacon, after an interval of fifteen years, came to revise this First text, it was chiefly to expand, qualify, or illustrate it. The additions of absolute new thought are not numerous. But in the second and further revision

of 1625, he almost doubled these earliest Essays in length.

t. A striking change in the writing meets us as we come to his second Essay. Of Friendship, at p. 163, which is the first specimen herein of the final style of 1625. That Essay represents Bacon's last manner, and all the other Essays, in their successive alterations, do but more or less approximate to it. The Essay is now a methodical Discourse, generally under two or three heads. It usually begins with a quotation or an apothegm. It teems with allusions and quotations, with anecdote and repartee: and altogether is a very brilliant piece of writing. Still, however, it is a succession of distinct points, rather than a ramble round one topic.

Thus, much as to the ripening and enrichment of the style, may suffice.

Bacon addreffed these Counsels, more perhaps than any other of his writings, immediately and directly to his Contemporaries. Think who these included. We cannot stop to enumerate them. From Burleigh to Selden, from Spenser to Milton, they comprised the brightest and greatest intellects of England. It was the golden Age of our National History.

a Writing for his contemporaries, Bacon naturally appealed to phenomena at was then accounted for. Indeed, he was in this respect somewhat behind the times: for Archbishop Whately asserts [Essays. p. xiv. Ed. 1856], that he appears to have rejected the discoveries of Copernicus and Galileo: and it is certainly noteworthy how cautiously he refers to the celestial Primum Mobile, leaving it an open question. And so generally: Bacon's argument or counsel is often felicitously true, when the fact adduced in its conclusive proof is now known to be false. As for instance, 'ashes are more generative than dust,' p. 249, that 'out of question' (Astronomy was decidedly his weak point, as human life and character was his strong one) Comets affect 'the grosse and masse of Things,' p. 571. His adducing, as evidence worthy to be considered, the preposterous assertion of an Astrologer, p. 569; and the like.

b. The Essays are an excellent Land Mark in the Constitutional History of Erdead Libelerus towards an expertails refered in the literature.

th. The Essays are an excellent Land Mark in the Constitutional History of England. It helps us towards an understanding of the political system under which our country was ruled under the two first Stuarts, and which but for the Long Parliament, would certainly have drifted on, until England had been made like France came to be under Lous XIV. and his successor. It is startling to hear him so constantly talk of the entire State, as the King's Estate, as a nobleman's park might be; it is curious, in a book dedicated to the reigning Favorite, to hear his defence of Favorites, p. 227, and also to mark his instructions, how the King was to suck the brains of his Counsellors, and then palm all off as his own, p. 317; to note his denounciation of Cabinet Councils, p. 319, (a name since applied to a different kind of assembly; to see him thinking so late as 1625, that there was little danger to a King, from the Commons, and not much danger from the Gentry, p. 307. He seems not to have conceived the possibility of the coming of the English Commonwealth. Thus these Counsels do reflect in many things the times in which they were written.

c. Again, many of these Essays should be read in connection with Macchiavelli's Discourses upon Livy's First Decade, which appears to have been a favourite political work with Bacon. The last one Of Vicissitudes of Things seems to have altogether suggested by Chap 5, Book II, of that work, the title of which is, That the changes of Religion and Languages, together with the changes of floods and pestilence, abolish the memory of things.

7. There is however a large permanent element in these Essays that will remain a monument 'more durable than brass':

applicable to all ages, because manhood alters not, and ever fresh

and sparkling as when first written.

a. An excellence that meets us at once is the subtle mastery of words, the singular beauty of the imagery and similitudes, just as he begins The Advancement of Learning. 'In the entrance to the former of these; to cleare the way, and as it were to make silence:' so among many others we have in this work, 'Imitation is a giobe of precepts,' b. 284. 'Atheists will euer be talking of that their Opinion, as it they fainted in it, 'p. 333. And the like.

Great attention is to be paid to all his words, for their fulness

of meaning adds much to the pleafure of the Effays.

b. Consider the infinite variety of the thought. Nothing can give us a better idea of his powers, than to realize that Bacon's daily thought was just like these Essays, and his Apothegms. Dr. Rawley states with what celerity

he wrote I can testify.

t. The general depth of the thought. Some phrases seem to be a chapter in themselves. As quoting at random, 'to dash the first Table, against the second; And so to consider men as Christians, as we forget that they are men,' at p. 431, is a whole argument for toleration: his anatomy of a cunning and rotten man, at p. 105: his exquisite summary of our Saviour's miracles at p. 101: and so on ad infinitum.

Next comes the testimony of the book to Bacon's moral

character.

a. It is contrary to human nature, that one in whose mind such thoughts as these coursed, year after year, only becoming more excellent as he grew older, could have been a bad man. Do men gather grapes of thorns? Be all the facts of his legal career what they may, and it is that section of his life mostly includes any discredit to him: (he was also a Philosopher, Historian, that Essayist, Politician, and what not?) the testimony of this one work, agreeing as it does with the tenour of all his other writings is irresistible, that in the general plan of his purposes and acts, he intended nothing less, nothing else than to be 'Partaker of God's Theater, and so likewise to be partaker of God's Rest, p. 183. Can we accuse one who so scathes Hypocrites and Imposters, Cunning and Self-wisdom, of having a corrupted and depraved nature? For strength of Moral Power, there is no greater work in the English language.

th. More than this, (it is notable also as a testimony to his character,) there runs right through all an unfeigned reverence for Holy Scripture, not only as a Revelation of Authority, but as itself the greatest written Wisdom. Not because it was so easy to quote, but because it was so fundamentably and because it was a easy to quote our testate it the Bible as a great store-house of Civil and Moral, as well as Religious Truths, and so Bacon is another illustration, with Socrates, Plato, Dante, Shakespeare, Milton and others, that a deep religious feeling is a necessity to the very highest order of human mind. As he argues at p. 339, Man, when he resteth and assureth himselfe vpon divine Protection and Fauour, gathereth a Force and Faith; which Human Nature, in it selfe, could not obtaine.

8. We have glanced at the connection of this work with Bacon's life and pursuits. We have noticed the change of ftyle perceivable in these Effays. We have touched upon their localism of time and place. We have noted one or two of their permanent conftituents; and marked their testimony to Bacon's character.

Here most reluctantly we must leave off, ere we have hardly begun. One parting word. We rife from the fludy of this work with a higher reverence than ever for its Author; and with the certain conviction that the Name and Fame of Francis Bacon will ever increase and extend through successive ages.

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- . There is still so much uncertainty both as to the earlier and more recent editions of the Essays, &-c.; that this and the next List must be considered purely tentative. There may be several editions not included in either.
- 1. 1597. London. r Vol. 12mo. Editio princeps: see title at p. 3, and sub-titles at pp. 96 and 135.
- 1. 1598. London. Essaies. Religious Meditations. Places of perswa-1. vol. 12mo. sion and disswasion. Seene and allowed. London. Printed for Humfrey Hooper, and are to bee solde at the blacke Beare in Chauncery lane.

Col. Imprinted at London by Iohn Windet for Humfrey Hooper. 1598.

- 1606. London. Same title as No. 2. Printed at London for Iohn 1 vol. 12mo. Iaggard, dwelling in Fleete streete at the hand and Starre neere Temple barre. 1606.
 - [1607-1612. Between these dates was transcribed Harl. MS. 5106, of which see title at p. 157.]
- 4. 1612. London. I vol. 12mo. Second and revised Text: see title at p. 420.
- 5, 1612. London. Same title as No. 2. Printed at London for Iohn I vol. 12mo. laggard, dwelling in Fleete-streete at the Hand and Starre, neere Temple barre. This edition was partially printed when the second text, No. 4, came out. The new Essays were therefore added at the end of this impression.
- London. Same title as No. 2. Printed at London for Iohn Iaggard, dwelling, at the Hand and Starre betweene the two Temple gates. 1613.
- 1618. London. Saggi Morali and Della Sapienza degli Antichi. 1 vol. 8vo. Trans. by Тову Маттнеку; whose dedication to Cosmo de Medici, Duke of Tuscany, is dated London, 3 July [1618.]
- 8. 1619. London. Essays Moraux. Translated by Sir Arthur Gorges.

 1 vol. 8vo. Scutum inuincibile Fides. A Londres. Chez. Iean
 Bill.
- Bracciano. Saggi Morali and Sapienza de gl'Antichi. Trans. 1 vol. 32mo. by Andrea Cioli, Secretary of State to the Grand Duke of Tuscany. Dedication signed by Pompilio Totti, 24 June 1621.
- 10. 1621. Paris. 1 vol. 8vo. Essays Politiques et Moraux. Trans. by
 I. BAUDOVIN.
- 11, 1624. London. The Essaies of St Francis Bacon Knight, the King's 1 vol. 8vo. Atturney Generall. His Religious Meditations. Places of Perswasion and Diswasion. Seene and allowed. Printed at London by I. D. for Elizabeth Laggard, at the hand and Starre, neere the middle Temple-gate. 1624.
- 12, 1625. London. 1 vol. 4to. Final English Edition; see title at p. 497.

 This is the first edition in quarto.
 - ... The editions printed for the Jaggard family, viz., Nos. 3, 5, 6, and 11, are considered spurious, and unauthorized.

On the next two pages is shown the order of the Essays in the editions published in Bacon's lifetime, and the Latin text of 1638. It will be seen that as the Essays grew, there were five different arrangements. The first includes 1, 2, and 3. The Second is that of Harl. MS. 5106. The Third comprises 4, 6, 8, and 11. The fourth 7, 9, and 10. The fifth is that of 12 and most subsequent Editions.

Order of the Essays in Contemporaneous Editions, &c.

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BEING THE ISSUES, SUBSEQUENT TO LORD BACON'S DEATH.

For Contemporary Bibliography, see pp. xxxi-xxxiii. * Editions not seen.

In the present Reprint, there are virtually Nine versions of the Five fol-

owing Texts, viz.:—
(1.) The Essays or Counsels, &c. in English of 1597, 1598, 1607-12, and 1628; together with their translation into Latin, under the title of (2.) Sermones

Fideles, sive Interiora Rerum (SER. FID.) of 1638. Also the (3.) Meditationes Sacræ (MED. SACRÆ.) in Latin of 1507, and

their English version (4.) Sacred Meditations (SAC. MED.) of 1508.
Finally, the English text of (5.) The Colours of Good and Evil (Cols. of G.

By Text 1612, Text 1625, Text 1638, is intended that the general order of these Editions has been followed: not any guarantee as to the fidelity of the re-impression. In this case, as in so many other instances, many errors have silently crept into some of the later editions: no punishment having vet been invented sufficient to daunt Editors from intentional falsification by unmarked addition or omission in what they put forth as the writings of other men

I. AS A SEPARATE PUBLICATION.

A. Essays alone.

English.

42. 1798. London. Essays, Moral, Economical, and Political.

An absurd impression of six copies only, in which a page of type smaller than this one is printed on a leaf four times its height and five times its width. ı vol. 8vo.

*45, 1812. London. Essays, Moral, Economical, Political.

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London. 1 vol. 12mo. Essays, Moral, Economical, and Political. London. 1 vol. 160. Essays, Moral, Economical, and Political. 50. 1825. 52. 1828. London. 1 vol. 160.

Illustrated with four steel engravings [!] by R. Westell, R.A., viz. Busbecq's story, see p. 201; the Mouse-woman, p. 363; the Sybil's offer, p. 524; He that con-sidereth the wind, &c. p. 31.

1 vol. 8vo. by A. Spiers, Ph.D.
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Bacon's Antitheta are placed after each corresponding Essay, and the footnotes consist of illustrative quotations showing the meaning of words. The annotations swell the book to over 500 large pages and are good reading but

too diffuse for purposes of study.

London. 1 vol. 8vo. Second edition of No. 64.

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69. 1858. London, I vol. 8vo. Fourth edition of No. 64. 70. 1858.

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A reprint of No. 67, without Wisdom of the Ancients.

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Sermones Fideles, sive Interiora Rerum. Lug. Bat. 21. 1641. [Leyden] I vol. 12mo. early foreign Latin editions have Cols. of Good and Evil, with other pieces, at the end.

22. 1644. Lug. Bat. [Leyden.] Sermones Fideles, sive Interiora Rerum. 1 vol. 12110.

23. 1662. Amsterdam. Sermones Fideles, Ethlici, Politici, Economici.

I vol. 12mo. Graesse. Tresor de Livres rares, &c.

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Retranslations from the Latin.

1720. London. Lord Bacon's Essays, or Counsels Moral and Civil.
 2 vols. 8vo. Translated from the Latin by WILLIAM WILLYMOTT,

LL.D., who thus apologises for his publication:

"Wanting an English Book for my Scholars to Translate, which might improve them in Sense and Latin at once. (Two Things which should never be divided in Teaching) I thought nothing more proper for that Purpose than Bacon's Essays, provided the English, which is in some places grown obsolete, were a little reformed, and made more fashionable (!)."

The work mainly consists of the Essays, but there are added to it some passages translated from De Augmentis

added to it some passa Scientiarum.

41. 1787. London. The Essays. A reprint of No. 33.

2 vols. 8vo.

Italian.

*18. 1639. Venice. 1 vol. 12mo. Opere Morali. Graesse.

B. Sacred Meditations alone.

No edition published.

C. Colours of Good and Evil alone.

No edition published.

II. WITH ONE OR TWO OTHER WORKS BY LORD BACON.

A. Essays, with Sacred Meditations only.

No edition published.

B. Essays, with Colours of Good and Evil only.

English.

 13. 1629. London. The Essayes or Covnsels, Civil and Morall, of Francis 1 vol. 4to. Lo. Verulam, Viscovnt St. Alban. Newly enlarged. London, Printed by John Haviland, and are sold by R. Allott.

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an Appendix.] A most excellent edition: the briefset but
most erudite of notes, which will facilitate the labours of
all future editors, and to which I gratefully acknowledge
my own indebtedness.

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C. Essays, with both Sacred Meditations and Colours of Good and Evil.

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80. 1871. July 1. London 1 vol. 8vo. English Reprints. See title at p. i.
We have been much surprised to find that the present Reprint—the only one in recent times containing all that Bacon himself separately published in connection with the Essays-should be the first re-impression of the Sacred Meditations -apart from any collection of his workssince the above issue of 1634.

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27. 1669. London. A re-issue of the previous article with an altered date.

I vol. 12mo.

30. 1691. London. The Essays or Counsels, Civil and Moral r vol. 8vo. With a Table of the Colours of Good and Evil. Whereunto is added The Wisdom of the Ancients. Enlarged by the Honourable Author himself, and now more Exactly Published.

32. 1701. London. A Reprint of No. 30.

1 vol. 8vo. 'To this edition is added the Character of Queen Elizabeth; never before Printed in English.' [This is an incorrect claim; it had already so appeared in 'Resuscitatio,' 1657.]

F. Essays, with The Advancement of Learning.

*56. 1840. London. Essays with Advancement of Learning. With illustrations. Eng. Cat. 1 vol. 8vo.

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III. WITH COLLECTIONS OF LORD BACON'S WORKS.

A. PARTIAL COLLECTIONS.

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17. 1638. London. Operum Moralium et Civilium . . . Tomus. Ed. rvol. fol. by RAWLEY, D.D. The standard Latin text. It contains only 56 Essays: Of Prophecies and Of Masques and Triumphs not being included in this Translation.

25. 1665 [1664] Frankfort. Opera Omnia, &c. Ed. by J. B. Schon-1 vol. fol. WETTER.

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 16. 1637. Paris. Les Œuvres Morales et Politiques. Translated by I. 1 vol. 8vo. BAUDOVIN. 56 Essays occupy pp. 1-332. Of Superstituon and Of Religion are not translated.

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34. 1723. London. The Philosophical Works of Francis Bacon. Me-3 vols. 4to. thodized and made English, from the Originals, by PETER SHAW, M.D. Supplement 11 contained in Vol. iii., pp. 63-164, consists of 'Interiora Rerum or Essays.'

These are grouped into three classes, viz., Essays on Moral Subjects, on Œconomical Subjects, and on Political Subjects, and are stated to be "enrich'd by the Addition of several Pieces, originally written in LATIN, by the Author, and never translated into English." The reader will be surprised to find that these 'Pieces' are the 'Sacred Meditations,' already printed several times in English.

43. 1802. London. The Works, &c. Besides the 'Essays, its. 270, and 4 vols. 8vo. 'Cols. of Good and Evil,' ii. 90-15, this edition consists of a 'Miscellany of Lord Bacon's productions:' principally of a translation of the Novum Organum.

61. 1852 London. Bohn's Standard Library. The Moral and Historical 1 vol. 8vo. Works of Lord Bacon. Ed. by Joseph Devey, M.A.

B. Complete Collections.

These began in 1730. Since then there have only been attempted until now Six distinct Texts of the collected Writings of the great Philosopher. Each of them has been a vast improvement upon what had gone before; until in the life-work of Mr Spedding and his coadjutors, we know Lord Bacon as our forefathers never did, and even better than his own contemporaries.

All these Collections are of course in Latin-English.

35. 1730. London. OPERA OMNIA, &c. Ed. by JOHN BLACKBOURNE.
4 vols. fol. This is the first of what we may be termed the modern
editions. It has the three dedications (1) to Anthony
Bacon, 1597; (2) to Sir John Constable, 1612; and (3) the

Duke of Buckingham, 1625. Text 1625. There are 60 Numbered Essays. The spurious Of a King being No. 14, and Of Fame, being No. 60.

Ess. occupy iii. 299-383. Med. Sacræ ii. 396-403. Cols. of G. and E. iii. 384-395. Sac. Med. and Ser.

FID. do not occur in this edition.

37. 1740. London. Works, &c. With several additional Pieces never 4 vols. fol. before printed in any Edition of his Works. To which is prefixed a new life of the author. [by DAVID MALLET.]
The Second Collected Text, It was published by Subscription both in Small and Large Paper. It has the 3 Dedications: and embraces 60 unnumbered Essays. Text 1625, with Of a King and Of Fame in the same position as in previous edition.

Ess. occupy iii. 200-383. Cols. of G. and E., iii. 384-303. MED. SACRÆ, ii. 396-403. No SAC. MED. nor SER. FID.

38. 1753. London. WORKS, &c. A new edition. [Also edited by MALLET.] The Third Collected Text, and the last edition in folio. 3 vols. fol.

3 Deds. Text 1625. 58 numbered Essays: Of a King, and Of Fame are unnumbered at the end. Also Text 1638.

Ess. occupy i. 377-447. SER. FID. iii. 623-682. MED. SACRÆ. iii. 744-748. COLS. OF G. AND E. i. 365-375. No SAC. MED.

on. Works. [The English Part edited by Rev. JOHN GAMBOLD; the Latin by W. Bowver: Lowndes.] The Fourth Collected Text and the first in 4to. As this edition was the standard one for upwards of 60 years, it may 39. 1765. London. 5 vols. 4to.

be advisable to quote thus much from the Advertisement:
"Two Gentlemen, now deceased, Robert "Two Gentlemen, now deceased, Kooert Stephens, Esq., Historiographer Royal, and John Locker, Esq., Fellow of the Society of Antiquaries, both of whom had made a particular Study of Lord Bacon's Writings, and a great Object of their Industry the correcting from original or authentic Manuscripts, and the earliest and best Editions, whatever of his Works had been already published, and adding to them such, as could be recovered, that had never

seen the Light.

Mr. Stephens dying in November, 1732, his Papers came into the hands of Mr. Locker, whose Death, on the 30th of May 1760, prevented the World from enjoying the Fruits of his Labours, tho' he had actually finished his Correction of the fourth Volume of Mr. Blackburne's Edition, containing the Law-Tracts, Letters, &c. After his Decease his Collections, including those of Mr. Stephens's, were purchased by Dr. Birch, the use of which he is glad of this

Opportunity of giving to the Public."

3 Dedications, Text 1625. 58 Essays. Of a King, and Of Fame are at the end, unnumbered. Also Text 1638.

Ess. occupy i. 445-527. Ser. Fid. v. 347-432. Med. Sacræ. v. 525-531. Cols. of G. and E. i. 435-444. The Sac. Med. do not occur.

40. 1778. London. THE WORKS, &c. A Re-issue of 1765 Edition, No. 5 vols. 4to. 39, and the last in 4to.
44. 1803. London. The Works, &c. A Reprint of 1765 Edition, No. 39.

10 vols. 8vo. The first Edition in Octavo.
47. 1819. London. THE WORKS, &c. A Reprint of 1803 Edition, No.

10 vols. 8vo. 44, which is a Reprint of 1765. No. 39. 49. 1824. London. The Works, &c. A Reprint of 1803 Edition. So to vols. 8vo. that even so late as this, there was nothing more than the information and criticism of 1765.

51. 1825-36. London. THE WORKS. &c. With a new life. Ed. by BASIL 17 vols. 8vo. MONTAGUE.

This is the Fifth Collected Text in the sequence of time, and is the one which Lord Macaulay reviewed in the

Edinburgh Review of July 1837.
55. 1838. London. Works both English and Latin. Graesse.

55. 1836. London.
2 vols. 8vo.
57. 1842. Philadelphia. 3 vols. 8vo. A Reprint of No. 51.
67. 1857-1862. London. The Works, &c.
7 vols. 8vo. Ed. by James Spedding, R. L. Ellis, D. D. Heath.
The Sixth Collected Text, and when completed will be that is an honour to our generation. Mr. Spedding is now writing Lord Bacon's 'Life and Letters' as a complement to this edition.

Latin.

*28. 1684. Amsterdam. 6 vols. 12mo. OPERA OMNIA. Graesse. Tresor de Livres rares et précieux. Ed. 1859.

Amsterdam, 6 vols. 12mo. OPERA OMNIA, Graesse. Amsterdam, 7 vols. 12mo. OPERA OMNIA, Graesse. *31. 1695. *36. 1730.

French.

*53. 1835. Paris. Œuvres. Ed. by N. Bouillet and Garnier. 54. 1836. Paris. Panthéon Littéraire. Œuvres, &c. Ed. by J. P. A. 1 vol. 8vo. Buchon. 57 Essays of Text 1625.

Martuguese.

*? 1731. London. Obras Philosophicas Translated by JAC. CASTRO DE 3 vols. 4to. SARMENTO.

V. ISSUES WITH WORKS OF OTHER WRITERS.

A. With Locke's 'Conduct of the Understanding.'

46. 1813. London. British Classics. The Conduct of the Understanding

 46. 1813. London. Dritish Chasses. The Conduct of the Orderstanding I vol. 12mo. with Essays Moral, Economical, and Political.
 58. 1844. New York. Harper's Family Library. Essays, Moral, I vol. 12mo. Economical, and Political, &c., with John Locke's Conduct of the Understanding. With an Introductory Essay by A. POTTER, D.D.

72. [1862.] Edinburgh. Bacon's Essays and Locke's Conduct of the Unr vol. 8vo. derstanding.

B. With other Writings.

62. 1853. London. The Universal Library. Division V. vol. i. contains 8vo. The Essays. Text 1625.

VI. IN EXTRACTS, SELECTIONS, &C., OF LORD BACON'S WORKS.

English.

73. [1863.] London. The Wisdom of the Fathers. Selections from the Writings of Lord Bacon. 26 of the Essays are printed in 1 vol. 8vo. this work.

Merican.

52. 1832. Mexico. Pensamientos Folosóficos. Extracts from 26 of the I vol. 4to. Essays translated by J. M. FORNEL.

LIST OF TEXTS OF ESSAYS FORMING THIS HARMONY.

TEXT I. 1597. Editio princeps: fee title at p. 3.

TEXT II. 1598. Second edition.

Same contents as Text I. The variations are trifling, chiefly typographical. TEXT III. 1607-12. Harleian MS. 5106: fee title p. 157.

Mr. Spedding states that "the earliest evidence of additions and alterations which I have met with, is contained in a volume preserved among the Harleian MSS, in the British Museum, No. 5106; a volume undoubtedly authentic, for it contains interlineations in Bacon's own hand; and transcribed some time between 1607, when Bacon became Solicitor-general, and 1612, when he brought out a new edition of the Essays with further additions and altera-

tions."—Works, vi. 535, Ed. 1858.

With the view of ensuring a perfectly accurate reprint, my friend Charles Trice Martin, Esq., B.A., of the Public Record Office has kindly corrected this text with the original MS.

Second Revised Text: fee title at p. 419. TEXT IV. 1612.

This edition is distinguished by great absence of capital letters. It almost reads like a modern book. It does not include Of Honour and Reputation, already printed in Texts I, and II., or Of Seditions and Troubles, which had been begun in Text III.

TEXT V. 1625. Final English Edition: fee title at p. 497.

This impression is disfigured by a perfect eruption of capital letters, and is often cut up into almost inch lengths with commas. It contains all the 40 Essays of the three previous Texts, together with 18 new ones. Minute differences in spelling exist between different copies of this Edition. Museum copy here reprinted has the Press-mark 721. e. 9.

TEXT VI. 1638. Posthumous Latin Edition. Ed. by Dr. Rawley. Operum Civilium et Moralium Tomus.

However the omission in this Text of two of the Essays, Of Prophecies and Of Masques and Triumphs may be accounted for: it is clear that when Bacon penned his dedication to Buckingham, see p. 498, this Latin version was virtually completed. "My Historie of the Seventh (which I have Now ALSO translated into Latin)" with Dr. Rawley's express statement at p. xiv, and its inclusion by him in the text of Bacon's true works at the end of Resuscitatio, sufficiently prove this. Lord Bacon seems to have thought that the English editions would all perish; but that the 'Latine Volume' would 'last as long as Books last.' It is therefore to be looked upon as the

final expression of his mind, his last appeal to future ages."

It has been customary to look upon Text V. as the standard one; and to regard all variations from it in this version as so many mistranslations and the like. To some extent this may be true; and Text V. is no doubt the main one: but Bacon-as he once more, and this time, with some sense of finality -went over the Essays, added and varied incessantly. Mr. Martin has noted and translated all the important variations in the fifty-six Essays common to the two editions; and these, amounting to over 1900 in number, have

been incorporated in the footnotes of this edition.

These last touches throw a flood of light upon the meaning of the Essays, and endue each page with a separate interest, special to itself. Bacon strove after the briefest expression possible to him, and freely used the strongest English idiom of his day: so that while his contemporaries saw more than English intom of his day: so that while his contemporaries saw more than they read; posterity does not attain, with equal facility, to his full meaning. He had also great delight in imagery and metaphors, and sometimes used English words of Latin derivation in their original Latin sense as if he often thought in that language, as 'obnoxious' for 'deferential (obnorius) and the like. In the translation, the equivalents for the English idiom or the imagery had of course been given literally: and thus, the superlative value of this Text consists in its preserving in a dead and unvarying language, Bacon's authorized equivalents of the fluctuating English of his time.

Nor is this all the variations include additions omissions and vital altera-

Nor is this all, the variations include additions, omissions, and vital alterations that could not have been made without Bacon's own sanction. The guarantee of this—apart from the intrinsic mind in them—is Dr. Rawleys' faithfulness.

AHARMONY

OF THE

FIRST GROUP

OF

TEN ESSAYS.

- 1. OF STUDY.
- 2. OF DISCOURSE.
- 3. Of CEREMONIES AND RESPECTS.
- 4. Of Followers And Friends.
- 5. OF SUITORS.

- 6. OF EXPENSE.
- 7. OF REGIMENT OF HEALTH.
 - 8. Of Honour and Reputation.
- 9. OF FACTION.
- 10. Of Negotiating.

First Published in 1597.



Effayes.

Religious Meditations.

Places of perfwafion and diffwafion.

Seene and allowed.



AT LONDON,
Printed for Humfrey Hooper, and are
to be fold at the blacke Beare
in Chauncery Lane.

1 5 9 7.

To M. Anthony Bacon his deare Brother.



Ouing and beloued Brother, I doe nowe like fome that haue an Orcharde ill neighbored, that gather their fruit before it is ripe, to preuent flealing. These fragments of my conceites were going to print; To labour the flaie of them had bin troublesome, and subject to interpretation; to let them passe had

beene to aduenture the wrong they mought receive by vntrue Coppies, or by fome garnishment, which it mought please any that should set them forth to bestow upon Therefore I helde it best discreation to publish them my felfe as they paffed long agoe from my pen, without any further difgrace, then the weaknesse of the Author. And as I did euer hold, there mought be as great a vanitie in retiring and withdrawing mens conceites (except they bee of fome nature) from the world, as in obtruding them: So in these particulars I have played my felfe the Inquisitor, and find nothing to my vnderstanding in them contrarie or infectious to the flate of Religion, or manners, but rather (as I suppose) medicinable. Only I difliked now to put them out because they will bee like the late new halfe-pence. which though the Siluer were good, yet the peeces were fmall. But fince they would not ftay with their Master, but would needes trauaile abroade, I haue preferred them to you that are next my felfe, Dedicating them, fuch as they are, to our loue, in the depth whereof (I affure you) I fometimes wish your infirmities translated vppon my felfe, that her Maiestie mought haue the feruice of fo active and able a mind, and I mought be with excuse confined to these contemplations and Studies for which I am fittest, so commend I you to the preservation of the divine Maiestie. From my Chamber at Graies Inne this 30. of Ianuarie. 1597.

Your entire Louing brother. Fran. Bacon.

Effaies.*

- 1. Of studie.
- 2. Of discourse.
- 3. Of Ceremonies and respects.
- 4. Of followers and friends.
- 5. Sutors.+
- 6. Of expence.
- 7. Of Regiment of health.
- 8. Of Honour and reputation.
- 9. Of Faction.
- 10. Of Negociating.

^{*} In the 1598 Edition, the Contents precede ' The Epistle Dedicatorie. † Of Sutors, in 1598 Édition.

I. & II. 1597-8. æt. 37-8.

For variations of II., see footnotes.

[1.] Of Studies.



Tudies ferue for pastimes, for ornaments and for abilities.

Their chiefe vfe for paftime is in priuatenes and retiring; for ornamente is in difcourfe, and for abilitie is in iudgement.

For expert men can execute,

but learned men are fittest to iudge or censure.

To fpend too much time in them is flouth, to vfe them too much for ornament is affectation: to make iudgement wholly by their rules, is the humour of a Scholler.

They perfect Nature, and are perfected by experience.

III. 1607-12. æt. 47-52.

Harleian MS. 5106.

11. Of Studies.



Tudies ferve for Pastymes, for Ornamentes, and for Abilityes.

Theire cheif vfe for Paftyme is in Privatenes and retyreing; for Ornament is in Difcourfe, and for Abillity is in Iudgement.

For expert Men cann execute,

but learned Men are fittest to iudge, or censure.

To fpend too much tyme in them is *Sloth*, to vfe them too much for ornament, is affectacion, to make Iudgment wholly by theire rules, is the humor of a S[c]holler.

They perfect *Nature*, and

They perfect Nature, and are perfected by Experience.

DE. Fariations in posthumous Latin Edition of 1638.

² Studies. Studia, et Lectiones Librorum, 'studies and the reading of books.'

¹ Title. De Studiis, et Lectione Librorum, 'of studies and the reading of books.'

Belight. Meditationum Voluptati, 'for delight in meditation.'
 Ornament. Orationis Ornamento, 'ornament of discourse.'
 Ability Negetiorum Subsidio, 'assistance in business.'

IV. 1612. æt. 52.

29. Of Studies.



Tudies ferue for Delight, for Ornament, and for Ability;

their chiefe vse for delight, is, in priuatnesse, and retiring; for ornament, is in discourse, and for abilitie, is in iudgement.

For expert men can execute,

but learned men are fittest to judge or censure.

To fpend too much time in them, is Sloth; to vfe them too much for ornament, is affectation; to make iudgement wholly by their rules, is the humour of a Scholer.

They perfect Nature, and are perfected by Experience.

V. 1625. æt. 65.

British Museum Copy.

50. Af Studies. 1

(2')

Tudies² ferue for Delight,³ for Ornament,⁴ and for Ability.⁵

Their Chiefe Vfe for Delight, is in Privateneffe and Retiring; For Ornament, is in Difcourfe; And for Ability, is in the Iudgement and Difposition of Businesse. For Expert Men can Execute, and perhaps Iudge of particulars, one by one; But the generall Counsels, and the Plots, and Marshalling of Affaires, come best from those that are Learned.

To fpend too much Time in *Studies*, is Sloth⁸; To vfe them too much for Ornament, is Affectation⁹; To make Iudgement wholly by their Rules is the Humour of a Scholler.¹⁰

They perfect Nature, and are perfected by Experience:

7 Iudge of particulars. In specialibus, judicio non malo utuntur, 'and in particulars use no bad judgment.'

§ Sloth. Speciosa quadam Socordia, 'a kind of plausible sloth.' 9 Affectation. Affectatio mera est, quæ seipsam prodit; 'is mere affectation which betrays itself.'

10 Humour of a Scholler. Scholam omnino sapit, nec bene succedit. 'savours altogether of the school, and does not succeed well.'

⁶ Discourse. In Sermone tam Familiari, quam Solenni, 'in discourse both friendly and formal.'

I. & II. 1597-8. æt. 37-8. III. 1607-12. æt. 47-52.

T Craftie men contime* them, fimple men admire them. + wife men vfe them:

For they teach not their owne vse, but that is a wifedome without them: and aboue them wonne by obfernation.

T Reade not to contradict, nor to be-

lieue,

but to waigh

and confider.

T Some bookes are to bee tafted, others to bee fwallowed, and fome few to bee chewed and difgefted: That is, fome bookes are to be read only in partes; others to be read, but curforily, and fome few to be read wholly and with diligence and attention.

* contemne, in 1598 edition.

Craftie Men contemne them; fimple Men admire them, and wife men vie them:

Ffor they teach not theire owne vse, but that is a wifedome without them, and above them won by obferuacion.

Reade not to contradict, nor to be-

leeve.

but to weighe

and Confider. Some bookes are to be tafted, others to be fwallowed, and some few to be chewed and digefted; That is, fome bookes are to be reade onely in partes, others to be read but not curioufly, and fome few to be read wholly, and with dilligence, and attencion.

[†] and, added in 1598 edition.

Vse them. Quantum parest, 'as much as is right.'
 Confute. Disputationum Præitis concertandi; 'engage in battles of discussion.'

IV. æt. 52. 1612.

Crafty contemne men them, fimple men admire them, and wife men vfe

them. For they teach not their owne vie, but that is a wifdome without them, and aboue them, wonne by obferuation.

Read not to contradict, nor to be-

leeue,

but to weigh

and confider.

Some bookes are to bee tafted, others to bee fwallowed, and fome few to be chewed and digested. That is, fome bookes are to be read only in parts; other to bee read, but not curioufly; and fome few to bee read wholly, and with diligence, and attention.

1625. æt. 65.

For Naturall Abilities, are like Naturall Plants, that need Proyning by Study: And Studies themselues, doe giue forth Directions too much at Large, except they be bounded in by experience.

Men Crafty Contemne Studies; Simple Men Admire them; and Wife Men Vfe

them:11

For they teach not their owne Vse; But that is a Wifdome without them, and aboue them, won by Obfernation.

Reade not to Contradict, and Confute; 12 Nor to Beleeue and Take for granted; Nor to Finde Talke and Discourse; But to weigh and Confider, 13

Some Bookes are to be Tasted, Others to be Swallowed,14 and Some Few to be Chewed and Digested: That is, fome Bookes are to be read onely in Parts; Others to be read but not Curioufly; 15 And fome Few to be read wholly, and with Diligence and Attention.

¹³ Weigh and Consider. Ut addiscas, ponderes, et judicio tuo atiquatenus utaris, 'to learn, weigh, and use your judgment somewhat.'
14 Swallowed. Deglutive, cursimque legere, 'swallowed and read rapidly.'
15 Curiously. Non multum temporis, in iisdem evolvendis, insumendum, but not much time to be spent in turning them over.'

1. & II. 1597-8. æt. 37-8. III. 1607-12. æt. 47-52.

T Reading maketh a full man, conference a readye man, and writing an exacteman. And therefore if a man write little, he had neede haue a great memorie, if he conferre little, he had neede haue a prefent wit,* and if he reade little, he had neede haue much cunning, to feeme to know that he doth not.

¶ Histories make men wife. Poets wittie: the Mathematickes fubtle, naturall Phylofophie deepe: Morall graue, Logicke and Rhetoricke able to contend.

Reading maketh a full Man, conference a ready Man, and Writing an exact Man. And therefore if a Man write litle, he had neede have a great memorie; if he conferre litle, he had neede haue a prefent witt, and if hee reade litle. hee had neede have much Cunning to feeme to knowe that he doth not.

Histories make men wife. Poetts wittie, the Mathematicks fubtile, Naturall Philosophie deepe, Morall grave, Logick and Rhetoricke able to contend.





^{*} if he confer little, haue a present wit, in 1598 edition.

16 Flashy. Insipidi, 'tasteless.'

 ¹⁷ Full man. Copiosum et bene instructum, 'full and well informed.'
 18 Conference. Disputationes et Colloquia, 'discussions and conference.'
 19 Ready. Promptum et facilem, 'ready and fluent.'
 20 Writing. Scriptio autem, et Notarum Collectio, 'writing, and the collection of notes.'

²¹ Exact Man. Perlecta in animo imprimit, et altius figit, 'prints what is read on the mind and fixes it deeper.'

IV. æt. 52. 1612.

1625. æt. 65. V. Some Bookes also may be read by Deputy, and Extracts made of them by Others: But that would be, onely in the leffe important Arguments, and the Meaner Sort of Bookes: elfe distilled Bookes, are like Common distilled Waters. Flashy16 things.

Reading maketh a ful man. Conference a ready man, and writing an exact man. And therefore if a man write little, hee had neede haue a great memory; if he confer little, hee had neede haue a prefent wit, and if he read little, hee had neede haue much cunning, to feeme to know that hee doth not.

Histories make men wife, Poets wittie, the Mathematickes fubtill. Naturall Philosophie deepe, Morall thoricke able to contend.

Reading maketh a Full man:17Conference18aReadv19 Man: And Writing 20 an Exact 21 Man. And therefore, If a Man Write little,22 he had need haue a Great memory; If he Conferre little, he had need haue a Prefent Wit; And if he Reade litle, he had need haue much Cunning, to feeme to know that, he doth not.

Histories make men Wife; Poets Witty; The Mathematicks Subtill; Naturall Philosophy deepe; Morall graue, Logicke and Re- Graue; Logick and Rhetorick Able to Contend.23 Abeunt studia in mores. 24 Abeunt studia in Mores.a Nay, thear is no flond or Nay there is no Stond 25 or

a 'Manners are changed through studies.' Ovid, Her. xv. 83. Bacon's own paraphrase is, "Studies have an influence and operation vpon the manners of those that are conversant in them." Adv. of L. Bk. I. p. 13, Ed. 1605.

²² Write little. In notando, segnis sit, aut fastidiosus, 'is slothful or averse to taking notes.

²³ Able to Contend. Pugnacem, et ad Contentiones alacrem, 'pugnacious and ready for contention.'

^{24 (}Ut ait ille,) 'as he says.' 25 Stond. Omitted in the Latin.

A HARMONY OF THE ESSAVS 12

I. & II. 1597-8. æt. 37-8. III. 1607-12. æt. 47-52.

²⁶ Impediment. Impedimentum aliquod insitum, autnaturale, t any implanted or natural impediment.'
27 To beat ouer Matters. Ad Transcursus Ingenii segnis sit, 'slow in the motion of his mind to and fro.'

 ²⁸ Call vp. Accersere, et arripere dextre, 'call up and skilfully lay hold of.'
 29 Special Receit. Ex Literis, Medicinas proprias comparare sibi possint, 'may obtain special medicines from literature.'

IV. 1612. æt. 52. V. 1625. æt. 65.

impediment in the wit, but may be wrought out by fit fludies: like as diseases of the body may haue appropriate exercises. Bowling is good for the Stone and Raines; Shooting for the longs and breast; gentle walking for the stomacke; riding for the head; and the like. So if a mans wit be wandring, let him study the Mathematiks;

if his wit be not apt to diftinguish, or find difference, let him study the Schoolemen;

if it bee not apt to beat ouer matters and to find out refemblances,

let him

fludy Lawyers cafes. So euerie defect of the mind may haue a fpeciall receit. Impediment²⁶ in the Wit, but may be wrought out by Fit Studies: Like as Difeases of the Body, may have Appropriate Exercises. Bowling is good for the Stone and Reines: Shooting for the Lungs and Breast: Gentle Walking for the Stomacke: Riding for the Head; And the like. So if a Mans Wit be Wandring, let him Study the Mathematicks: For in Demonstrations, if his Wit be called away neuer fo little, he must begin again: If his Wit be not Apt to diftinguish or find differences, let him Study the Schoolemen; For they are Cymini fectores.a

If he be not Apt to beat ouer Matters,²⁷ and to call vp²⁸ one Thing, to Proue and Illustrate another, let him *Study* the *Lawyers Cafes*: So euery Defect of the Minde, may haue a Speciall Receit.²⁹





a "Antoninus Pius . . . was called *Cymini Sector*, a caruer, or diuider of Comine seede, which is one of the least seedes; such patience hee had and setled spirite, to enter into the least and most exact differences of causes." Advancement of Learning, Bk. 1. p. 35 Ed. 1605.

I. & II. 1597-8. æt. 37-8. For variations of II., see footnotes.
[2.] Of Discourse.



Ome in their difcourfe defire rather commendation of wit in

being able to holde all arguments, then of iudgement in difcerning what is true, as if it were a praife to know what might be faid, and not what shoulde bee thought. Some haue certaine Common places and Theames wherein they are good, and want varietie, which kinde of pouertie is for the most part tedious, and nowe and then

ridiculous.

The honourableft part of talke, is to guide* the occasion, and againe to moderate and passe to fomewhat else.

¶ It is good

to varie and mixe fpeech of the prefent occasion with argument, tales with reasons, asking of questions, with telling of opinions, and iest with

III. 1607-12. æt. 47-52.

Harleian MS. 5106,

12. Of Discourse.



Ome in theire difcourse design rather Commendacion of witt, in

being able to hould all argumentes, then of Iudgement in difcerning what is true, as if it were a praife to knowewhat might be faied, and not what should be thought. Some have certaine Commonplaces, and theames wherein they are good and want variety; which kinde of povertie is for the most part tedious, and now, and then

ridiculous.

The honorableft kind of Talke, is to give the occasion, and againe to moderate, and passe to somewhat els:

It is good

to varie, and mixe fpeach of the presente occasion with of Argument, Tales, with reasons, asking of Questions, with telling of opinions, and ieste with

* giue, in 1598 edition.

VI. Variations in posthumous Latin Edition of 1638.

1 Title. De Discursu Sermonum, 'of the discourse of speech.'

IV. 1612. æt. 52.

19. Of Discourse.



Ome in their difcourse desire rather commendation of wit, in

beeing able to holde all arguments, then of iudgement in difcerning what is true; as if it were a praife to know what might be faid, and not what fhould be thought. Some haue certaine common places, and theames wherein they are good, and want variety: which kind of pouerty is for the most part tedious, and now and theu

ridiculous.

The honorablest kind of talke, is to give the occasion, and againe to moderate and passe to fomewhat else.

It is good

to varie and mixe fpeech of the prefent occasion with argument: tales with reasons; asking of questions, with telling of opinions: and iest with

V. 1625. æt. 65.

British Museum Copy.

32. Of Discourse.1



Ome in their *Dif-*courfe, defire
rather Commendation of Wit, in

being able to hold all Arguments, then of Iudgment, in difcerning what is True: As if it were a Praife, to know² what might be Said, and not what fhould be Thought. Some haue certaine Common Places, and Theames, wherein they are good,³ and want Variety:⁴ Which kinde of Pouerty is for the most part Tedious, and when it is once perceiued Ridiculous.

The Honourablest Part of Talke, is to give the Occasion; And againe to Moderate and passe to somewhat else; For then a Man leads the Daunce.

It is good, in *Difcourfe*, and Speech of Conuerfation, to vary, and entermingle Speech, of the prefent Occasion with Arguments; Tales with Reasons, Asking of Questions, with telling of Opinions; and Iest with

² Know. *Invenire*, 'to discover.'

Are good. Luxuriantur, 'are fertile.'
Want Variety. Catera steriles et jejuni, 'otherwise barren and meagre'

I. & II. 1597-8. æt. 37-8. earnest.

III. 1607-12. æt. 47-52. earnest.

¶ But fome thinges are priuiledged from iest,

But fomethinges are priviledged from iefte,

namely Religion, matters of flate, great persons, any mans present businesse of importance, and any case that deserueth pittie. namely Religion, Matters of State, great Perfons, any mans prefente businesse of importance, and anie case that deserveth pittye;

THe that questioneth much shall learne much, and content much, specially if hee applie his questions to the

He that questioneth much shall learne much, and content much, specially if he apply his questions to the

⁵ For it is a dull Thing, &c. Satietatem siquidem et Fastidium parit, in alique Subject odiutius huerere, 'for to stick to any subject too long produce satiety and digust.'

IV. 1612. æt. 52.

earnest.

But fome things are priviledged from iest,

namely religion, matters of State, great perfons, any mans prefent businesse of importance, and any case that deserueth pitty;

and generally men ought to finde the difference betweene faltneffe and bitterneffe. Certainly he that hath a Satyricall vaine, as he maketh others afraid of his wit, so he had need be afraid of others memory. He that questioneth much shall learne much, and content much: specially if he applie his questions to the

V. 1625. æt. 65.

Earnest: For it is a dull Thing to Tire, and, as we fay now, to Iade, any Thing too farre.⁵

As for Iest, there be certaine Things, which ought to be priuiledged from it; Namely Religion, Matters of State, Great Persons, Any Mans present Businesse of Importance, And any Case that deserueth Pitty. Yet there be some, that thinke their Wits haue been assept; Except they dart out somewhat, that is Piquant, and to the Quicke: That is a Vaine, which would be brideled;

Parce Puer stimulis, et fortiùs vtere Loris.ª

And generally, Men ought to finde the difference, between Saltneffe and Bitterneffe. Certainly, he that hath a Satyricall vaine, as he maketh others afraid of his Wit, fo he had need be afraid of others Memory. He that questioneth much, shall learne much, and content much; But especially, if heapplyhis Questions, to the

Spare, boy, the whip and tighter hold the reins. Ovid, Met. ii. 127.

⁶ Dart . . . Quicke: Acutum aliquem et mordacem Sarcasmum in quempian contorserint, 'they dart out at some one some sharp and biting sarcasm.'

I. & II. 1597-8. æt. 37-8. skill of the person of whome he asketh, for he shal give them occasion to please themselues in speaking, and himfelfe shall continually gather knowledge.

III. 1607-12. æt. 47-52. skill of the person of whom he asketh; for he shall give them occasion to please themfelues in fpeaking, and himfelf shall contynually gather knoweledge.

If you diffemble fometimes your knowledge of that you are thought to knowe, you shall thought another time to know that you know not. ¶ Speech of a mans felfe is not good often,

If you diffemble fometymes your knowledge of that you are thought to knowe. vou fhalbe thought another tyme to knowe that you know not. Speache of a Mans felfe is not good often.

⁷ Skill of the Persons, whom he asketh. Ad captum et peritiam Respondentis, 'to the understanding and skill of the answerer.'
8 To please themselues in Speaking. Scientiam suam ostentandi, 'to show his knowledge.'

1625. æt. 65.

IV. 1612. æt. 52.

skill of the perfons of whom heasketh: For he shall give them occasion to please themselves in speaking, and himselfe shal continually gather knowledge.

If you diffemble fometimes your knowledge of that you are thought to know, you shall be thought an other time to know that you know not. Speech of a mans selfe is not good often, Skill of the Perfons, whom he asketh:7 Forhe shall giue them occasion, to please themselues in Speaking.8 and himselfe shall continually gather Knowledge. But let his Questions, not be troublesome; For that is fit for a Pofer. And let him be fure, to leave other Mentheir Turnes to fpeak.9 Nay, if there be any, that would raigne, and take vp all the time, let him finde meanes to take them off, and to bring Others on; As Musicians vse to doe, with those, that dance too long Galliards.

If you diffemble fometimes your knowledge, of that you are thought to know; you shall be thought another time, to know that, you know not. Speach of a Mans Selfe ought to be feldome, and well chosen. I knew One, was wont to fay, in Scorne; He must needs be a Wife Man, he speakes so much of Himselfe:

⁹ Let him be sure, to leaue . . . to speak. Etiam qui Sermonis Familiaris Dignitatem tueri cupit, aliis vuces loquendi relinquat, 'also he who wishes to preserve the dignity of friendly conversation, should leave other men their turns to speak.'

I. & II. 1597-8. æt. 37-8. and there is but one cafe, wherin a man may commend himfelfe with good grace, and that is in commending vertue in another, especially if it be such a vertue, as whereunto himfelfe pretendeth.

III. 1607-12. æt. 47-52. and there is but one case wherein a Man may commend himfelf with good grace, and that is in commending vertue in another, especially if it be such a vertue, as wherevnto himfelf pretendeth:

T Discretion of speech is Disscretion of speach is more then eloquence, and more then Eloquence, and

to fpeake agreably to him, to fpeake agreably to him,

stings or twits others.

12 Field. Campi aperti, in quo spatiari i'cet; Non via Regia, qua deducit

¹⁰ But one Case. Vix occurrit Casus aliquis, . . . præter unum, 'there scarcely occurs any case . . . but one.'

11 Speech of Touch. Sermo alios pungens et vellicans, 'speech which

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and there is but one cafe wherin a man may commend himselfe with good grace, and that is in commending vertue in another, especially, if it bee such a vertue, as whereunto himfelfe pretendeth. Speech of touch toward others. should bee sparingly vsed; for difcourfe ought to beeas a field, without comming home to any man.

V. 1625. æt. 65.

And there is but one Cafe,10 wherein a Man may Commend Himfelfe, with good Grace: And that is in commending Vertue in Another: Especially, if it be such a Vertue, whereunto Himfelfe pretendeth. Speech of Touch11 towards Others, should be sparingly vsed: For Difcourfe ought to be as a Field, 12 without comming home to any Man. I knew two Noble-men, of the West Part of England; Whereof the one was given to Scoffe, but kept euer Royal Cheere in his House: The other, would aske of those, that had beene at the Others Table; Tell truely, was there neuer a Flout or drie Blow 13 giuen; To which the Guest would answer; Such and fuch a Thing paffed: The Lord would fav;14 I thought he would marre a good Dinner, 15

more than eloquence; and to speake agreeably to him to speak agreeably to him,

Difcretion of speech is Discretion of Speech, is more then Eloquence; And

Domure, 'an open field in which a man may ramble, not the King's highway which leads home.

Drie blow. Omitted in the Latin.
 The Lord would say. At ille, utpote alterius Æmulus, 'to which he, as the other's rival.

¹⁵ Good Dinner. Prandium bonum malis Condimentis, 'a good dinner, with bad sauces."

I. & II. 1597-8. æt. 37-8. with whome we deale is more then to fpeake in good wordes or in good order.

¶ A good continued speech without a good fpeech of interlocution sheweth flownesse: and a good reply or fecond speech, without a good fet fpeech sheweth shallownesse and weaknes, as wee fee in beaftes that those that are weakest in the course are yet nimblest in the turne.

stances ere one come to

III. 1607-12. æt. 47-52. with whom wee deale, is more then to fpeake in good wordes, or in good order.

A good continued Speache without a good fpeach of interlocucion sheweth flownes; and a good Reply or fecond speach, without a good fetled fpeach sheweth shallownes, and Weakenes, as wee fee in beaftes, that those that are Weakest in the course are yet nimblest in the tourne.

To vie too many circum- To vie too manie circumstances, ere one come to the matter is wearifome, the matter is wearifome, to yee none at all is blunt. to yee none attall is blunte.





16 Shallownesse and Weaknesse. Penuriam, et Scientiam minime fundatam, 'poverty and knowledge ill founded.'

IV. 1612. æt. 52. V. 1625. æt. 65.

with whom wee deale, is more then to fpeake in good words, or in good order.

A good continued fpeech without a good fpeech of interlocution, fheweth flownesse: and a good reply, or fecond fpeech, without a good fetled fpeach, theweth thallowneffe and weakeneffe: as we fee in beafts, that those that are weakest in the course, are yet nimblest in the turne.

To vfe too many circumflances ere one come to the matter, is wearifome;

with whom we deale, is more then to fpeake in good Words, or in good Order.

A good continued Speech, without a good Speech Interlocution, shews Slowneffe: And a Good Reply, or Second Speech, without a good Setled Speech, sheweth Shallownesse and Weakneffe.16 As we fee in Beafts that those that are Weakest in the Course, are yet Nimblest in the Turne: As it is betwixt the Grev-hound, and the Hare.

To vfe¹⁷ too many Circumstances, ere one come to the Matter, is Wearisome; to vie none at all, is blunt. To vie none at all, is Blunt. 18





¹⁷ Vse. Orationem vestire, 'to clothe a speech with.'
18 Blunt. Abruptum quiddam est, et ingratum, 'is blunt and disagree able '

I. & II. 1597-8. æt. 37-8. For variations of II., see footnotes. [3.] Of Ecremonies and Respectes.



E that is onely reall had need haue exceeding great parts of

vertue, as the stone had neede bee rich that is set without foyle. ¶ But commonly it is in praise

as it is in gaine. For as the prouerbe is true, That light gaines make heauie Purfes: Because they come thicke, whereas great come but now and then, fo it is as true that fmal matters winne great commendation: becaufe they are continually in vie and in note, whereas the occasion of any great vertue commeth but holy-daies.

III. 1607-12. æt. 47-52. Harleian MS. 5106.

10. Of Ceremonies and Respects.



Ee that is onety reall had neede have exceeding great partes of

vertue, as the Stone had neede to be riche that is fett without foyle. But commonly it is in praife

as gaine: For as the Proverbe istrue. That light gaines make heavie purfes; Because they come thicke, whereas great come, but now, and then; fo it is as true, that fmale matters wynn great commendacion, because they are contynually in vie, and in note, Whereas the occasion of anie great vertue cometh but holie dayes.

DI. Variations in posthumous Latin Edition of 1638.

² Rich. E purissimis et nitidissimis, 'most pure and bright.'
³ Commendation of Men. Omitted in the Latin.

Gettings. Omitted in the Latin.
Matters. Virtutes, 'virtues.'

¹ TITLE. De Cæremoniis Civilibus et Decoro, of civil ceremonies and propriety.'

IV. 1612. æt. 52. V.

30. Of Ceremonies and Respects.



Ee that is onely reall, had need haue exceeding great parts of

vertue: as the flone had neede to be rich that is fet without foile. But commonly it is in praife,

as it is in gaine: For as the prouerbe is true, light gaines make heauie purfes, because they come thicke, whereas great come, but now and then: fo it is true, that fmall matters winne great commendation, because they are continually in vfe. and in note. Whereas the occasion of any great vertue, commeth but on holie daies.

V. 1625. æt 65.
British Museum Copy.

52. Of Ceremonies and Respects.1



E that is only Reall, had need haue Exceeding great Parts of Vertue:

As the Stone had need to be Rich,2 that is fet without Foile. But if a Man marke it well, it is in praife and Commendation of Men.³ as it is in Gettings 4 and Gaines: For the Prouerbe is true. That light Gaines heavy Purses: For light Gaines come thick, whereas Great come but now and So it is true, Small Matters⁵ win great Commendation, because they are continually in Vse, and in note:6 whereas the Occasion of any great Vertue,7 commeth but Festivals,8 Therefore it doth much adde, to a Mans Reputation, and is, (as Oueene Ifabella faid) Like perpetuall Letters Commendatory, to haue good 10 Formes.

7 Great Vertue. Virtutus alicujus magna exercendæ, 'of exercising any great virtue.'

⁸ In Vse and in note. *Quia perpetuus earum: usus est; Tum in observationen Hominum incurrunt:* because their use is continual, and they meet the observation of men.'

 ⁸ Festivals. Raro admodum obtingit, 'happens but rarely.'
 Isabella. Regina Castiliana, 'Queen of Castile.'
 Good. Discretis et decoris, 'discreet and proper.'

To attaine good formes, it fufficeth not to defpife them, for fo shal a man observe them in others and let him trust himselfe with the rest; for if he care

to expresse them hee shall leese their grace, which is to be naturall and vnaffected. Some mens behauiour is like a verse wherein euery sillable is measured. How can a man comprehend great matters that breaketh his minde too much to small observations?

¶ Not to vse Ceremonies at all, is to teach others not to vse them againe, and so diminish his respect; especially they be not to bee omitted to straungers and strange

natures.

III. 1607-12. æt. 47-52.

To attaine good Fourmes, it fufficeth not to difpife them, for fo shall a Man observe them in others, and lett him trust himself with the rest; For if he care

to expresse them, hee shall leese their grace, which is to be naturall and vnasfected. Some mens behaviour is like a verse wherein every Syllable is measured. How can a Man comprehend great matters, that breaketh his minde too much to smale observacions?

Not to vse Ceremonies at all is to teach others not to vse them againe, and to diminisheth respect, especially they be not to be omitted to

be not to be omitted to Straungers and formall Natures. IV. 1612. æt. 52.

To attaine good formes, it fufficeth not to defpife them: For fo shal a man obserue them in others: And let him trust himselse with the rest. For if he care

to expresse them, hee shall lose their grace, which is to be naturall and vnasfected. Some mens behauiour is like a verse wherein euery sillable is measured; how can a man comprehend great matters, that breaketh his mind to much to small observations?

Not to vse Ceremonies at al, is to teach others not to vse them againe; and so diminisheth respect:

bee not to be omitted to trangers, and formall natures V. 1625. æt. 65.

To Attaine them, it almost fufficeth, not to despise them: For fo shall a Man observe them in Others: And let him truft himselfe with thereft. For if he Labour too much to Expresse them, he fhall lofe their Grace; Which is to be Naturall and Vnaffected. Some Mens Behauiour,11 is like a Verse, wherein euery Syllable is Measured: How can a man comprehend great Matters, that breaketh his Minde too much to fmall Obferuations?

Not to vie Ceremonies at all, is to teach Others not to vse them againe; And fo diminisheth Respect 12 to himfelfe: Especially they be not to be omitted to Strangers. and Formall Natures: But the Dwelling vpon them, and Exalting them about the Moone, 13 is not only Tedious, but doth Diminish the Faith and Credit of him that And certainly. there is a Kinde, of Conueying of Effectuall and Imprinting Passages, amongst

Diminisheth Respect. Teipsum facies viliorem, 'make yourself cheaper.' Exalting them aboue the Moone. Locutio plane Hyperbolica, 'speech which is clearly extravagant.'

III. 1607-12. æt. 47-52.

¶ Amongst a mans Peires a man shall be fure of familiaritie, and therefore it is a good title to keepe state; amongst* a mans inferiours one shall be fure of reuerence, and therefore it is good a little to be familiar.

T Hee that is too much in any thing, so that he giue an other occasion of fatietie, maketh himfelfe

cheape.

To applie ones felfe to others is good, fo it be with demonstration that a man doth it vpon regard, and not vpon facilitie.

¶ It is a good precept generally in feconding another: yet to adde fomewhat of ones owne; as if you will graunt his opinion, let it be with some distinc-

Amongest a Mans Peeres a man shall be fuer of familiarity, and therefore it is good a litle to keepe state; amongest a Mans inferiours one shall be fuer of Reverence, and therefore it is good a litle to be familiar.

He that is too much in anie thing, foe that he giveth another occasion of fatietie, maketh himfelf

cheape.

To apply ones felf to others is good, foe it be with demonstracion that a man doth it vponn regard, and not vponn facility.

It is a good precept generally in feconding another; yet to add fomewhat of ones owne: as if you will graunt his opinion, lett it be with fome distinction, if you wil follow his tion, if you will followe his

^{*} amonge, in 1598 edition.

¹⁴ Kind of conueying, &c. Est proculdubio Modus, artificiosæ cujusdam Insinuationis, in Verbis ipsis, inter Formulas communes, qui Homines revera inescat, et mirifice afficit, 'there is certainly a kind of cunning insinuation in the words themselves, among common compliments, which indeed allures men, and is of wonderful effect. 15 Hit vpon it. Ejus viam calleat, 'knows the way of it.'

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Complements, which is of Singular vfe. 14 if a Man can hit vpon it.15

Amongst a mans Peeres, a man shall be fure of familiarity; and therefore it is good a little to keep state: amongst a mans inferiours one thal be fure of Reuerence; and therefore it is good a little to bee familiar.

Hee that is too much in any thing, fo that hee giueth another occasion of fatietie, maketh himself

cheap.

To apply ones felfe to others is good; fo it be with demonstration that a man doth it vpon regard, and not vpon facility.

It is a good precept, generally in feconding another, Yet to adde fomewhat of ones owne; as if you will grant his opinion,

Amongst a Mans Peeres. a Man shall be fure of Familiaritie; And therefore, it is good a little to keepe State.16 Amongst a Mans Inferiours, one shall be fure of Reuerence; And therefore it is good a little to be Familiar. 17

He that is too much in any Thing,18 fo that he giueth another Occasion of Sacietie, maketh himfelfe

cheape.

To apply Ones Selfe to others, is good; So it be with Demonstration, that a Man doth it vpon Regard, 19 And not vpon Facilitie.

It is a good Precept. generally in Seconding Another, yet to adde somewhat of Ones Owne: As if you will grant his Opinion. let it be with fome distinc- let it be with some Distinction, if you will follow his tion; If you will follow his

¹⁶ Keepe State. Reprime te paululum, et dignitatem tuam, 'repress your-

self a little and keep your dignity.

17 Be Familiar. Benigne to gerere, et cum Familiaritate quadam, non incongruum est, 'to bear yourself kindly and with a certain familiarity is not unsuitable.

¹⁸ In any Thing. In Sermone aliquo, aut Re, 'in any discourse or thing.'

19 Regard. Comitate et Urbanitate, 'courtesy and politeness.'

I. & II. 1597-8. æt. 37-8. motion, let it be with condition; if you allow his counfell, let it be with alleadging further reason.



III. 1607-12. æt. 47-52. mocion, lett it be with condicion, if you allowe his Counfaile, lett it be with alleadginge further reason.



21 Men had need beware. Cavendum imprimis, ne Magister in Care-moniis et Formulis habearis: Id enim si fiet, utcunque Virtutevera emineas.

²⁰ Alleging further Reason. Novi alicujus Argumenti pondus adas, propter quod in Partes ejus transire videaris, 'add the weight of some new reason, on account of which you seem to take his part.'

1612. æt. 52. IV. motion; let it be with condition; if you allow his counfell, let it be with alleging further reason. Men had neede beware how they be too perfit in complements. For be they neuer fo fufficient otherwife, their enuiers will bee fure to give them that attribute to the difaduantage of their greater It is loffe also in businesse to be too full of respects, or to be to curious in obseruing times and oportunities. mon faith He that confidereth the wind shall not fowe, and hee that looketh to the clowdes, shall not reape. A wife man will make more opportunities then he findes.



V. 1625. æt. 65.

Motion, let it beewith Condition; If you allow his Counfell, let it be with Alledging further Reafon.20 Men had need beware.21 how they be too Perfect in Complements; For be they neuer fo Sufficient otherwife, their Enuiers will be fure to giue them that Attribute, to the Difaduantage of their greater Vertues. It is loffe also in bufinesse, to be too full of Respects, or to be too Curious in Obseruing Times and Opportunities. mon faith; He that confidereth the wind, Shall not Sow, and he that looketh to the Clouds, shall not reape. A wife Man will make more Opportunities then he findes.

Mens Behauiour should be like their Apparell, not too Strait, or point Deuice, but free for Exercise or Motion.



audies tamen ab Invidis, in Nominis tui Detrimentum, Vrbanus tantum et Affectator, 'you must beware first of all of being considered a master of ceremonies and compliments, for if so, however eminent you are in true worth, you will be called by your enviers, to the detriment of your name, only polite and zealous.'

I. & II. 1597-8. æt. 37-8. No variations in Text II.

[4.] Of followers and friends.



Oftly followers are not to be liked, leaft while a man maketh his traine

longer, hee make his wings fhorter, I reckon to be coftly not them alone which charge the purfe, but which are wearyfome and importune in futes. Ordinary following ought to challenge no higher conditions then countenance, recomendation and protection from wrong.

T Factious followers are worse to be liked, which follow not vpon affection to him with whome they raunge themselues, but vpon discontentment conceiued against some other, whereupon commonly insueth that ill intelligence that we many times see between great personages.

III. 1607-12. æt. 47-52.

Harleian MS. 5106.

14. Of Followers and Freinds.



Offlie followers are not to be liked, leaft while a Man maketh his traine

longer, he make his wings fhorter; I reckon to be coftlie not them alone which charge the purfe, but which are wearyfome and ymportune in fuites. Ordinarie Followers ought to challenge noe higher condicions, then countenance, recommendacion and proteccion from wronges.

Ffactious Followers are worfe to be liked, which followenotyponn affeccion to him with whom they range themfelves, but vponn difcontentment conceived against fome other; Wherevponn commonlyenfueth, that ill intelligence, that wee many tymes fee betweene great parsonages.

DH. Variations in posthumous Latin Edition of 1638.

¹ Title. De Clientibus, Famulis, et Amicis. 'Of followers, servants. and friends.'
² Wings Shorter. Ne dum quis Caudo penuas adauget, Alarum pomas

IV. 1612. æt. 52.

32. Of followers and friends.



Oftly followers are not to bee liked, left while a man maketh histraine

longer, he make his wings shorter. I reckon to bee costly, not them alone which charge the purfe, but which are wearifome and importune in fuits. Ordinarie followers ought to challenge no higher conditions then countenance. recommendation, and protection from wrongs.

Factions fellowes are worfe to bee liked, which follow not vpon affection to him with whom they range themselues, but vpon discontentment conceiued against some other. Whereupon commonly enfueth, that ill intelligence, that wee many times fee beetweene great personages. Likewife glorious followers

1625. æt. 65. British Museum Copy.

48. Of followers and frends.1



Offly Followers are not to be liked; Left while a Man maketh his Traine

Longer, hee make his Wings Shorter.² I reckon to bee Coftly, not them alone. which charge the Purfe. but which are Wearifome and Importune in Sutes. Ordinary Followers ought to challengeno Higher Conditions, then Countenance, Recommendation, and Protection from Wrongs.

Factious Followers3 worfe to be liked, which Follow not vpon Affection to him, with whom they range Themselues, but vpon Difcontentment Conceiued against fome Other: Whereupon Commonly enfueth, that Ill Intelligence, that we many times fee betweene Great Perfonages. LikewifeGlorious Followers. who make themselves as Trumpets, of the Commendation of those they Follow,

prascindat, 'lest while a man increases the feathers of his tail, he cuts off

the feathers of his wings.'

3 Factions Followers. Clientes autem et Amici factiosi, adhuc magis vitandi, 'factious followers and friends are the more to be avoided.

I. & II. 1597-8. æt. 37-8. HII. 1607-12. æt. 47-52.

The following by certaine States answereable to that which a great person himfelfe professeth, as of Souldiers to him that hath beene imployed in the warres, and the like hath euer beene a thing ciuile, and well taken euen in Monarchies, fo it be without too much pompe or popularitie.

¶ But the most honorable kind of following is to bee followed, as one that apprehendeth to aduance vertue and defert in all of persons,

The followeing by certaine States, aunswerable to that which a great person himfelf professeth, as of Souldiers to him that hath beene ymployed in the warres, and the like hath ever beene a thing Civill, and well taken even in Monarchies, fo it be without too much pompe, or popularitve.

But the most honorable kind of following is to be followed, as one that apprehendeth to advance vertue and defert in all and fortes of persons;

⁴ Honour from a Man. Si quis vere rem reputet, 'if one consider the thing truly.'

5 In great Fauour. Apud Dominos suos, swpenumero in summo pretio habentur, 'are often held in great esteem by their masters.'

æt. 52. TV. 1612.

are full of inconveniency; for they teint businesse through want of fecrecy, and they export honor from a man and make him a returne in enuy.

The following by certaine States, answerable to that which a great person himselfe professeth, as of Souldiers to him that hath beene imploid in the warres, and the like, hath euer beene a thing ciuill, and well taken euen in Monarchies io it be without soo much pompe or popularity.

But the most honourable kind of following, is to be followed, as one that apprehendeth to advance vertue and defart in all fort of

V. 1625. æt. 65.

are full of Inconvenience: For they taint Businesse through Want of Secrecie, And they Export Honour from a Man,4 and make him a Returne in Enuie. There is a Kinde of Followerslikewife, which are Dangerous, being indeed Espials; which enquire the Secrets of the House, and beare Tales of them to Others. Vet fuch Men, many times, are in great Fauour;5 For they are Officious, And Commonly Exchange Tales.

The Following by certaine Estates of Men, answerable to that, which a Great Person himfelfe professeth, (as of Soldiers to him that hath been Employed in the Warres, and the like,) hath euer beene a Thing Ciuill,6 and well taken euen in Monarchies; So it be without too much Pompe or

Popularitie.

But the most Honourable Kinde of Following, is to be Followed, as one that apprehendeth, to aduance Vertue and Defert, in all perfons. And Sorts of Perfons.7

⁶ Ciuill. Decora, 'honourable.'
7 All Sorts of Persons. Ut quis Patronum se profiteatur eorum qu.
Virtute et Meritis clarent, cujuscunque Ordinis sint, vel Conditionis, 'to
profess one's sell a patron of those who are remarkable for worth or desert, of whatever order or condition.

I. & II. 1597-8. æt. 37-8. yet where there is no eminent oddes in fufficiencie, it is better to take with the more paffable, then with the more able.

III. 1607-12. æt. 47-52. vet where there is noe eminent oddes in fufficiency, it is better to take with the more paffable, then with the more able.

In gouernment it is good to vse men of one rancke equally, for, to countenancefome extraordinarily, is to make them infolente, and the rest discontent, because they may claime a due. But in fauours to vie men with much difference and election is good, for it maketh the persons preferred more thankefull, and the rest more officious, because all is of fauour.

¶ It is good not to make too much of any man at first. because one cannot holde out that proportion.

To be gouerned by one is not good,

In government it is good to vse men of one rancke equally, For to countenance fome extraordinarily, is to make them infolent, and the rest discontent, because they may claime a due. But in favours to vie them with much difference, and election is good, For it maketh the perfons preferred more thankfull. and the rest more officious. because all is of favour. It is good not to make too much of anie Man at the first, because one cannott hold out that

To be governed by one is not good,

proporcion.

^{*} To take with. Patrocinari, 'to patronize.'

9 Actiue. Industrii et satagentes, 'industrious and active.'

10 Claime a Due. Quandoquiden Ordinis Paritus aquas Gratia Conditiones, tanquam ex debito, poscit, 'because the equality of rank demands as a due, equal conditions of favour.'

¹¹ Because all is of Fauour. Neque ex hoc merito conqueratur quispiam,

æt. 52. IV. 1612. vet where there is no eminent oddes in fufficiency, it is better to take with the more paff-

able, then with the more able.

In government it is good to vse men of one rancke equally: For to countenance fome extraordinarily, is to make them infolent, and the rest discontent: because they may claime a due. But in fauour to vie men with much difference and election, is good: For it make [t]h the perfons preferred more thankfull, and the rest more officiou[s]: because all is of fauour. It is good not to

make to much of any man at the first, because one cannot hold out that

proportion.

To bee gouerned

by one is not good,

V. 1625. æt. 65.

yet, where there is no Eminent Oddes in Sufficiencie, it is better to take with8 the more Passable, then with the more And besides, to fpeake Truth, in Times, Actiue9 Men are of more vie, then It is true, in Gouernment, it is Good to vie Men of one Rancke equally: for to countenancefome extraordinarily, is to make them Infolent, and therest Discontent; Because they may claime a Due. 10 But contrariwife in Fauour. toyfe Men with much Differenceand Election, is Good; For it maketh the Persons Preferred more Thankfull, and the Rest more officious; Becaufe all is of Fauour. 11 It is good Difcretion, not to make too much of any Man at the first; Because One Cannot hold out that Proportion.12

To be gouerned¹³ (as we call it) by One, is not fafe, For

cum omnia ex gratia, non ex debito prodeant. 'nor can any one deservedly complain of this, because all is of favour, not of due.'

¹² Proportion. Nam quæ tractu temporis sequentur, vix istis initiis respondere possunt, 'for what will follow in the course of time, can scarcely answer to your beginning.'

13 Gouerned. Fingiet regi, 'to be moulded and governed.'

I. & II. 1597-8. æt. 37-8. III. 1607-12. æt. 47-52.

and to be distracted with many is worfe;

and to be distracted with manie is worfe:

but to take aduife of

friends is ever honorable: For lookers on many times fee more then gamesters, And the vale best discouereth the hill.

There is little friendship in the worlde, and least of all betweene equals, which was wont to bee magnified. That that is, is betweene fuperiour and inferiour. whose fortunes may comprehend the one the other.

but to take advise of

frendes is ever honorable. For lookers on manie tymes fee more, than gamesters, and the vale best discouereth the hill.

There is litle frendshipp in the world, and least of all betweene equalls which was wont to be magnified. That that is, is betweene Superiour and inferiour. whose fortunes may comprehend the one the other.





14 Speake ill. Omitted in the Latin.
15 Talke more boldly of. Amicum illum nostrum Contumeliis afficere non verebuntur; 'will not fear to attach contumely to our friend.'

16 Distracted. Plurium potestati subjici, et veluti in partes distracii, 'to be under the power of several, and as it were distracted.'

IV. 1612. æt. 52.

V. 1625. æt. 65. it shewes Softnesse, and

giues a Freedome to Scandall and Difreputation: For those that would not Cenfure, or Speake ill¹⁴ of a Man immediatly, will talke more boldly of ¹⁵ Those, that are so great with them, and thereby Wound their Honour. Yet to be Diftracted ¹⁶ with many is Worse; Foritmakes Men, to be of the Last Impression, and full of Change.

and to bee diffracted with many, is worfe;

but to take aduife of fome few friends, is euer honourable, For lookers on, many times fee more then gameflers, and the vale beft difcovereth the hill.

There is little friendship in the world, and least of all between equals, which was wont to bee magnified. That that is, is betweene *Superiour* and *Inferiour*, whose fortunes may comprehend the one the other.

To take Aduice of fome few Frends is euer Honourable¹⁷; For Lookers on, many times, fee more then Gamesters; And the Vale¹⁸ best discovereth the Hill.

There is Little Friendship in the World, ¹⁹ and Least of all betweene Equals, which was wont to be Magnified. ²⁰ That that is, is between Superiour and Inferiour, whose Fortunes may Comprehend, the One the Other.





¹⁷ Honourable. Honorabili sane et utile, 'really honourable and profitable.'

¹³ The Vale. (Ut adagie dicitur,) valles, '(as is said in the adage' the vale.'
19 Little Friendship. Amicitia vera in Orbe, rara admodum, 'true friendship in the world is very rare.
20 Magnified. Apad Veteres, 'amongst the ancients.'

For Variations of 11., see footnotes.

[5.] Of Sutes.*



Anie ill matters vndertaken, and

many good matters with illmindes.

Some embrace Sutes which neuer meane to deale effectually in them. But if they fee there may be life in the matter by fome other meane, they will be content to winne a thanke or take a fecond reward.

onely for an occasion to make an information wherof they could not

III. 1607-12. æt. 47-52. Harleian MS. 5106.

15. Of Sutors.



Anie ill matters vndertaken, and

manie good matters with ill mindes.

Some embrace Suites which never meane to deale effectually in them. But if they fee there may be life in the matter by fome other meane, they wilbe content to wynne a thanke, or take a fecond reward;

Some take holde of Sutes Some take hold of suites onely for an occasion to croffe fome other, or to croffe fome other, or to make an Informacion. whereof they could not otherwise haue an apt pre- otherwise have an apt pre-

^{*} Of Sutors, in 1598 Edition.

DH. Variations in posthumous Latin Edition of 1638.

¹ Embrace. In manus suas recipiunt, et operam avide pollicentur, 'tako suits into their hands and eagerly promise assistance,'

IV. 1612. æt. 52. V.

31. Of Sutors.



Anie ill matters are vndertaken, and

many good matters with ill mindes.

Some embrace fuits which neuer meane to deale effectually in them, but if they fee there may be life in the matter by fome other meane, they will be content to winne a thanke, or take a fecond reward. or at least to make vse in the meane time of the Sutors hopes. Some take hold of fuits only for an occasion to croffe fome other, or to make an Information whereof they could not otherwise haue apt pre-

1625. æt. 65. British Museum Copy.

49. Of Sutours.



Any ill Matters and Projects are vndertaken; And Priuate Sutes doe

Putrifie the Publique Good. Many Good Matters are vndertaken with Mindes: T meane not onely Corrupt Mindes; but Craftie Mindes, that intend not Performance.

Some embrace1 Sutes, which neuer meane to deale effectually in them; But if they fee, there may be life in the Matter,2 by fome other meane, they will be content to winne³ a Thanke, or take a Second Reward, or at least to make Vse, in the meane time, of the Sutours Hopes.4

Some take hold of Sutes, onely for an Occasion, to Croffe fome other; 5 Or to make an Information. whereof they could not otherwise haue apt Pre-

² Life in the Matter. Rem aliorum conatu successuram, 'that the matter will succeed by the endeavour of others."

Be content to winne. Aucupabuntur, 'will try to catch.'
Hopes. Spes dum Negotium vertitur, 'hopes while the business is moving.

⁵ Some other. Negotiis aliorum, quæ simul tractantur, 'the business of others, which is being treated at the same time.'

I. & II. 1597-8. æt. 37-8. cept,* without care what become of the Sute, when that turne is ferued.

III. 1607-12. æt. 47-52. text, without care what become of the fuite, when that tourne is ferved.

Nay fome vndertake Sutes with a full purpose to let them fall, to the ende to gratifie the aduerfe partie or competitor.

¶ Surely there is in

forte a right in euerie Sute, either a right of equitie, if it be a Sute of controuersie; or a right of defert, if it bee a Sute of petition. If affection leade a man to fauor the wrong fide in iustice, let him rather vse his countenance to compound the matter then to carrie it. If affection lead a man to fauour the leffe worthy in defert, let him doe it, without difabling deprauing or the better deferuer.

¶ In Sutes a man doth not well vnderstand, it is not well vnderstand, it is

Nay fome vndertake fuites with a full purpose to lett them fall, to the end to gratifie the adverse partye or Competitour.

Suerly there is in

forte a right in every fuite, either a right of Equity if it be a fuite of Controversie, or a right of defert, if it be a suite of peticion. If affeccion lead a man to favour the wrong fide in Iustice, lett him rather vse his countenance to compound the matter. then to carrie it. If affeccion leade a Man to favour the leffe worthie in defert. lett him doe it, without depraving, or difabling the better deferver.

In Suites a Man doth

^{*} pretext, in 1598 Edition.

⁶ Entertainment. Pontem sternant, 'to lay a bridge.'
7 In some sort. Si quis rem ritè perpendat, 'if a man weigh the matter rightly.3

⁸ In enery Sute. Comitatur omnem Petitionem, 'accompanies every

IV. 1612. æt. 52.

text, without care what become of the fuite when that turne is ferued.

Nav, fome vndertake fuits with a full purpose to let them fall, to the end to gratifie the aduerfe party

or competitor. Surely there is in fort a right in enery fuit; either a right of equity, if it be a fuit of controuersie or a right of defart, if it be a fuit of peti[ti]on. Ifaffection leade a man to fauour the wrong fide in iustice, let him rather vse his countenance to compound the matter then to carry it. If affection leade a man to fauor the leffe worthy in defart, let him doe it without depraying or difabling the better deferuer.

fuits a man doth

V. 1625. æt. 65.

text; without Care what become of the Sute, when that Turne is ferued: Or generally, to make other Mens Bufineffe, a Kinde of Entertainment, 6 to bring in their owne.

Nav. fome vndertake Sutes. with a full Purpofe, to let them fall; To the end, to gratifie the Aduerse Partie,

or Competitour.

Surely, there is, in fome fort,7 a Right in euery Sute:8 Either a Right of Equity. if it be a Sute of Controuersie9; Or a Right of Defert, if it be a Sute of Petition. 10 If Affection lead a Man, to fauour the Wrong Side in Iustice, let him rather vse his Countenance. to Compound the Matter, then to Carry it. If Affection lead a Man, to fauour the leffe Worthy in Defert,11 let him doe it without Deprauing or Difabling¹² the Better Deferuer.

In Sutes, which a man doth [not] well vnderstand, it is not well vnderstand, it is

Controuersie. Justitiæ, 'justice.'
 Petition. Gratiæ, 'favour.'
 In Desert. Merentem, in causa Gratiæ, 'in desert, in a cause of favour.'
 Deprauing or disabling. Abstineat saltem ab omni Calumnia et Maledicentia, 'let him abstain from all calumny and evil-speaking.'

I. & II. 1597-8. æt. 37-8. good to referre them to fome friend of trust and iudgement, that may reporte whether he may deale in them with honor.

III. 1607-12. æt. 47-52. good to referre them to fome freind of trust and Iudgement, that may report whether he may deale in them with honour.

T Suters are fo diftafted with delaies and abuses, that plaine dealing in denying to deale in Sutes at first, and reporting the fucceffe barely, and in challendging no more thankes then one hath deferued, is growen not onely honourable but also gracious. ¶ In Sutes of fauour the first comming ought to take little place, fo far forth confideration may bee had of his truft, that if intelligence of the matter coulde not otherwife haue beene had but by him, aduantage be not taken of the note.

Suitors are fo diffafted with delayes, and abuses, that plaine dealing in denving to deale in Suites at first, and reporting the fucceffe barely, and in Challenging noe more thankes then one hath deferved, is growne not onely honorable but alfoe gracious. In fuites of favor the first commeing ought to take litle place, fo farr fourth confideracion may be had of his truft, that if intelligence of the matter could not otherwife have beene had, but by him, advantage be not taken of the note.

To be ignorant of the To be ignorant of the

¹³ Suitors are so distasted. His temporibus . . . cruciantur, 'in these times . . . are so tortured.'

14 Reporting the successe barely. Successum ejus qualem-qualem anima simplici referendo, 'reporting the success truly, whatever it is.'

15 So farre forth . . . for his Discouerie. [This passage is thus rendered

IV. 1612. æt. 52. V.

V. 1625. æt. 65.

good to referre them to fome friend of trust and iudgement, that may reportwhether hee may deale in them with honour.

Sutors are fo diffafted with delaies and abuses. that plaine dealing in denying to deale in fuits at first, and reporting the fucceffe barely, and in challenging no more thankes then one hath deferued, is growne not onlie honourable, but also gracious. In fuits of fauour, the first comming ought to take little place: fo farre forth confideration may be had of his truft, that if intelligence of the matter could not otherwise haue been had, but by him, aduantage be not taken of the note. but the party left to his other meanes.

good to referre them, to fome Frend of Trust and Iudgement, that may report whether hee may deale in them with Honour: But let him chuse well his Referendaries, for else he may be led by the Nose.

Sutours are fo distasted13 with Delayes, and Abuses, that Plaine Dealing, in denying to deale in Sutes at first, and Reporting the Succeffe barely,14 and in Challenging no more Thanks then one hath deferued, is grown not onely Honourable, but also Gracious. In Sutes of Fauour, the first Comming ought to take little Place: 15 Sofarreforth Confideration may bee had of his Truft, that if Intelligence of the Matter, coulde not otherwise haue beene had, but by him, Aduantage bee not taken of the Note. but the Partie left to his other Meanes: and, in fome fort, Recompenced for his Difcouerie.15

To be ignorant of the To be Ignorant of the

in the Latin] Eo usque Supplicantis Fides, in re illa patefacienda, valere possit, ut si Notitia ejus aliunde quam per eum haberi non potuisset; lloc ei fraudi non sit, sed potius remuneratur. 'so that the trust of the suitor, in making the thing known, may avail that if the knowledge of it could not be had, except through him, it may be no disadvantage to him, but let him be rather rewarded.'

value of a Sute is fimplicitie, as well as to be ignorant of the right thereof is want of conscience.

Secrecie in Sutes is a great meane of obtaining, for voicing them to bee in forwardnes may discourage fome kinde of futers. but doth quicken and awake others.

¶ But tyming of the Sutes is the principall, tyming I fave not onely in respect of the person that shoulde graunt it, but in respect of those which are like to crosse it.

III. 1607-12. æt. 47-52.

value of a Suite is fimplicitie, as well, as to be ignorant of the right thereof, is want of Confcience.

Secrefie in fuites is a great meane of obtayning, for voyceing them to be in forwardnes may discourage fome kind of fuitours. but doth quicken and awake others.

But tymeing of the Suites is the principall, tymeing I fay not onely in respect of the person, that should graunt it, but in respect of those which are like to croffe it.

Ignorant of the Right. Æquitatem ejusdem oscitanter prætervehi, 'to
 tarelessly carried beyond the right.'
 Choice of his Meane. Ejus, cui Petitionis tuæ curam demandes. 'to
 whom you entrust the care of your suit.'

IV. 1612. æt. 52.

value of a fuit is fimplicitv. aswell as to bee ignorant of the right therof, is want of conscience.

Secrefie in fuites is a great meane of obtaining; For voicing them to bee in forwardnesse, may discourage fome kind of fuitors, but doth quicken awake others.

But timage* of the fuits is the principall. Timing I fay not onely in respect of the person that should grant it, but in respect of those which are like to croffe it.

Let a man in the choise of his meane. rather chuse the fittest meane then the greatest meane, and rather them that deale in certaine things then those that are generall.

The reparation of deniall is fometimes equall to the first grant, if a man fhew himfelfe neither deiected, nor discontented Iniquum petas vt æquum feras, a is a good rule where | feras; a is a good Rule, where

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value of a Sute, is Simplicitie: As well as to be Ignorant of the Right16 thereof, is Want of Conscience.

Secrecie in Sutes, is a great Meane of Obtaining; For voycing them, to bee in Forwardnesse, may discourage fome Kinde of Sutours: But doth Ouicken Awake Others. But Timing of the Sute, is the Principall. Timing, I fay, not onely in respect of the Person, that should grant it, but in respect

Croffe it. Let a Man, in the choice of his Meane. 17 rather choose the Fittest Meane. then the Greatest Meane: And rather them, that deale in certaine Things, then those that are Generall.

of those, which are like to

The Reparation¹⁸ of Deniall, is fomtimes Equall to the first Grant, If a Man fhew himfelfe, neither deiected, nor discontented. Iniquum petas vt Aguum

^{*} timing in Grenville copy, No. 10,365.

a Thou seekest unjustly, that thou mayest do justice. Quintilian Inst, Orat. iv. 5, 16.

¹⁸ Reparation. Denegata Petitionis Iteratio, 'the repetition of a suit refused.

III. 1607-12. æt. 47-52.

T Nothing is thought fo easie a request to a great person as his letter, and yet if it bee not in a good cause, it is so much out of his reputation.

Nothing is thought fo easie a request to a great person as his letter, and yet if it be not in a good cause, it is so much out of his reputacion.





¹⁹ Rise in his Sute. Gradibus quibusdam, ad id quod petis ascendere, et aliquid saltem impetrare, 'rise by certain steps to what you desire, and at least gain something.'

IV. 1612. æt. 52.

a man hath strength of fauour; but otherwise a man were better rest in his suit; for hee that would haue ventured at sirst to haue lost the sutor, will not in the conclusion lose both the sutor and his owne former sauor.

Nothing is thought fo easie a request to a great person as his Letter; and yet if it be not in a good cause, it is so much out of

his reputation.



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a Man hath Strength of Fauour: But otherwife, a man were better rife in his *Sute*; ¹⁹ For he that would haue ventured at first to haue lost the *Sutour*, will not in the Conclusion, lose both the *Sutour*, and his owne former Fauour.

Nothing is thought fo Easie a Request, to a great Person, as his Letter; And yet, if it be not in a Good Cause, it is so much out of

his Reputation.

There are no worfe Inftruments, ²⁰ then these Generall Contriuers of *Sutes*: For they are but a Kinde of Poyson and Insection to Publique Proceedings.



No worse Instruments. Non invenitur in Rebuspublicis perniciosius Hominum Genus, 'there is found no nore dangerous kind of man in states I. & II. 1597-8. æt. 37-8. No variations in Text II.

[6.] Of Expence.



Iches are for spending, and fpending for honour and good ac-

Therefore extraordinarie Expence must bee limited by the worth of the occasion; for voluntarie vndoing may bee as well for a mans countrie. as for the kingdome of heauen. But ordinarie expence ought to bee limited by a mans estate, and gouerned with fuch regard, as it be within his compasse, and not subject to deceite and abuse of feruants, and ordered to the best shew, that the Bils maye be leffe then the estimation abroad.

III. 1607-12. æt. 47-52. Harleian MS. 5106.

8. Of Expences.



Iches are for fpending, and fpending for honour and good ac-

Therefore extraordinary Expence must be limitted by the worth of the occasion; for voluntarie vndoeing may be as well for a Mans Countrey, as for the kingdome of Heaven. But ordinary Expence ought to be limitted by a Mans eftate, and governed with fuch regard, as it be within his compasse, and not subject to deceite, and abuse of fervauntes, and ordered to the best shewe; that the Billes may bee leffe, then the estimacion abroade.

TIt is no basenes for the It is noe basenes for the

VI. Variations in posthumous Latin Edition of 1638.

Spending, Destinantu Sumptibus, 'are intended for spending.'
 Vndoing, Paupertas, 'poverty.'

IV. 1612. æt. 52.

18. Of Expences.



Iches are for fpending, and fpending for honour and good ac-

Therefore extraortions. dinary expence must bee limited by the worth of the occasion, for voluntary vndoing may bee as well for a mans Countrey, as for the kingdome of Heauen. But ordinarie expence, ought to be limitted by a mans estate and gouerned with fuch regard, as it be within his compasse, and not subject to deceit, and abuse of feruants; and ordered to the best shew, that the bils may be leffe then the estimation abroad.

æt. 65. 1625. V. British Museum Copy.

28. Of Expence.



Iches are for Spending;1 And Spending for Honour and good Ac-

Therefore Extraordinary Expence must be limitted by the Worth of the Occasion: For Voluntary Vndoing,2 may be afwell for³ a Mans Country, as for the Kingdome of Heaven, But Ordinary Expence ought to be limitted by a Mans Estate; And gouerned with fuch regard, as it be within his Compaffe; And not fubiect to Deceit and Abuse of Seruants; And ordered to the best Shew, that the Bils may be leffe, then the Estimation abroad.

Certainly, if a Man will keep but of Euen hand,4 his Ordinary Expences ought to be, but to the Halfe of his Receipts: And if he thinke to waxe Rich, but to the Third Part.

It is no basenesse for the It is no Basenesse, for the

⁸ May be aswell for. Debetur, 'is due to.'
4 Euen hand. Qui Diminutionem Fortunarum suarum pati nolit, 'who does not wish to suffer a decrease of his fortune.'

fearching.

I. & II. 1507-8. æt. 37-8. III. 1607-12. æt. 47-52. greatest to descend and looke into their owne eftate. Some forbeare it not vpon negligence alone, but doubting to bring themfelues into Melancholy in respect they shall finde it broken. But Woundes cancured quithout not hee

¶ Hee that cannot looke estate. into his owne had neede both choose well those whom he imployeth, yea and change them after. For new are more timerous and leffe fubtle.

greatest to descende, and looke into theire owne eftate. Some forbeare it not vponnnegligencealone, but doubting to bring themfelves into Melancholy in respect they shall finde it broken. But Woundes cancured withour nott bee fearchinge.

Hee that cannott looke into his owne estate. had neede both choose well those whom he vmployeth, yea and chaunge them often. Ffor new are more timerous and leffe fubtile

Descend and looke. Si rationes suas diligenter inspirians, "if they

look diligently into their affairs.

6 Some. Complures, 'very many.'

7 Doubting. Aversatione quadam, ne, 'from a certain dislike, lest they.'

æt. 52. V. fV. 1612.

looke into their owne eftates. Some forbeare it not vpon negligence alone, but doubting to bring themfelues into malancholy in respect they shall find it broken. But wounds cannot bee cured without fearching.

Heethat cannot looke into his owne estate at all. had neede both choose well those whom he imploieth. and change them often: for new are more timorous, and leffe fubtill.

He that can looke into his estate but seldome. had need turne all to certainties.

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greatest to descend and Greatest, to descend and looke, into their owne Eftate. Some6 forbeare it, not vpon Negligence alone, But doubting⁷ to bring Themfelues into Melancholv, in respect they shall finde it Broken.8 But Wounds cannot be Cured without Searching.

He that cannot looke into his own Estate at all,9 had need both Choose well, those whom he employeth, and change them often: For New are more Timorous, and leffe Subtile.

He that can looke into his Estate but seldome, it behoueth him to turne all to Certainties. 10

A Man had need, if he be Plentifull, in fome kinde of Expence, be to Sauing againe, in fome other. As if he be Plentifull in Diet, to be Sauing in Apparell: If he be Plentifull in the Hall, to be Sauing in the Stable: And the like. For he that

Broken. Nimio accisas, 'too much impaired.'
 At all. Commode, 'conveniently.'
 Certainties. Que Computationi subjacent, in certos Reditus atque ctar Sumptus vertere, 'to turn what is subject to calculation into certain revenues and expenses.

I. & II. 1597-8. æt. 37-8. III. 1607-12. æt. 47-52.

¶ In clearing of a mans eftate, hee may as well hurt himfelfe in being too fuddaine, as in letting it runne on too long, for haftie felling is commonly as difaduantageable as interest.

In clearing of a Mans eftate, he may aswell hurt himfelf in being too fuddaine, as in letting it run on too long, For haftie Selling is commonly as difadvantageable, as Interest.

¶ He that hath a flate to repaire may not defpife fmall things; and commonly it is leffe dishonourable to abridge pettie charges then to floupe to pettie gettings.

T A man ought warily to begin charges, which once begunne must continue. But in matters that returne not, he may be more magnificant.

nificent.

He that hath a State to repayer may not difpife fmale thinges; and commonly it is leffe difhonorable to abridge pettie charges, then to floupe to pettie Gettinges;

A man ought warily to begin charges which once begun must contynue. But in matters that retourne not, hee may be more mag-

nificent.





¹¹ Estate. Perplexa et obærata Re Familiari, 'estate perplexed and involved in debt.'
12 Gaineth vpon. Medetur, 'heals.'

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In cleering of a mans estate, hee may aswell hurt himselfe in being too sudden, as in letting it run on to long. For hafty felling is commonly as difaduantageable as interest. Besides, he that cleeres at once will relapse: For finding himfelfe out of straught. hee wil reuert to his cuftomes. But hee that cleereth by degrees, induceth an habite of frugality, and gaineth afwell vpon his minde as voon his estate. Certainly who hath a state to repaire may not despife finall things; and commonly it is leffe dishonourable to abridge pettie charges, then to floope to petty gettings.

A man ought warily to begin charges, which once begun must continue. But in matters that return not, he may bee more mag-

nificent.

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is Plentifull in Expences of all Kindes, will hardly be preserved from Decay.

In Clearing of a Mans Estate, 11 he may as well hurt Himfelfe in being too fudden, as in letting it runne on toolong. For hafty Selling is commonly as Difaduantageable as Interest. Besides, he that cleares at once, will relapfe; For finding himfelfe out of Straights, he will repert to his Cuftomes: But hee that cleareth by Degrees, induceth a Habite of Frugalitie, and gaineth12 as well vpon his Minde, as voon his Estate. Certainly, who hath a State to repaire, may not despife fmall Things: And commonly, it is leffe dishonourable, to abridge pettie Charges, then to stoope to pettie Gettings.

A Man ought warily to beginne Charges, which once begun will Continue: But in Matters, that returne not,13 he may be more Mag-

nificent.14

0 0000

and magnificent.

Matters that returne not. Sumptibus, qui non facile redeunt, 'expenses that do not easily return.'
 Magnificent. 'Splendidiorem et magnificentiorem, 'more splendid Sumptibus, qui non facile redeunt, 'ex-

For variations of II., see footnotes.

[7.] Of Regiment of health.



Here is a wifdome in this beyond rules Phificke. Amans

owne observation what he finds good of, and what he findes hurt of, is the best Physicke 1 and 1 a to preferue health.

But it is a fafer conclusion to fav. This agreeth* well with me, therefore I will continue it, then this I finde no offence, of this therefore I may vse it. For ftrength of nature in youth paffeth ouer many exceffes, which are owing a man till his age.

¶ Difcerne of the comming on of yeares, and thinke not to doe the fame things ftill.

TII. 1607-12. æt. 47-52.

Harleian MS. 5106.

7. Of Regiment of health.



Here is a Wifedome in this beyond the rules Phifick. Amans

owne observacion what he findes good of, and what he findes hurt of, is the best preferve Phificke to

health:

But it is a fafer conclusion to faie, This agreeth not well with mee, therefore I will not continue it, then this, I finde noe offence of this, therefore I may vie it. For strength of nature in youth, passeth overmanie excesses, which are oweing a Man till his age.

Difcerne of the commeing on of yeares, and thinke not to doe the fame thinges

ftill.

^{*} not, inserted here in 1598 edition.

DE. Fariations in posthumous Latin Edition of 1638.

¹ There is a wisdome in this. In Regimine Valetudinis, invenire est quandam Prudentiam, 'in the regiment of health there is a certain wisdom to be found.

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IV. æt. 52. 1612.

17. Of Regiment of health.



Here is a wisdome in this, beyond the rules Philicke. A mans

owne observation what he findes good of, and what hee findes hurt of, is the best Physicke to prefe[r]ue health.

But it is a fafer conclusion to fay; this agreeth not well with mee, therefore I will not continue it; then this, I finde no offence of this, therefore I may vse it: for strength of nature in youth, paffeth ouer many exceffes, which are owing a man till his age.

Difcerne of the comming on of yeares, and thinke not to doe the fame things still. Certainly most lusty old men catch their death by that aduenture; For

1625. æt. 65.

British Museum Copy.

30. Of Regiment of Bealth.



Here is a wifdome in this,1 beyond the Rules of Phylicke: AMans

owne Obferuation, what he findes Good of, and whathe findes Hurt of, is the best Phylicke preferue to Health.

But it is a fafer Conclusion to fay; This agreeth not well with me,2 therefore I will not continue3 it; Then this; I finde no offence of this, therefore I may vie it. For Strength of Nature in youth, paffeth ouer many Excesses, which are owing4 a Man till his Age.

Difcerne of the comming on of Yeares, and thinke not, to doe the fame Things still;

For age will not be defied. Age will not be Defied.

Agreeth. Hoc sensi mihi nocuisse, 'I have felt that this injures me.'
Continue. Utar, 'use.'

Owing, Tandem velut debita exigentur, 'will be at last exacted like debts.

¶ Beware of any fuddain change in any great point of diet, and if necessitie inforce it, fit the rest to it. inforce it, fitt the rest to it.

III. 1607-12. æt. 47-52.

Beware of anie fuggaine chaungein any great pointe of Dyett, and if necessity

chearefully disposed at cheerefully disposed at howers of meate, and of howers of meate, and of fleepe, and of exercife, is fleepe, and of exercife, is the best precept of long lasting.

To be free minded, and To bee free minded, and the best precept of long lasting.

Then one. Quam unum Magnum, 'than one great one.'
 Apparell. Vestium, Mansionis, 'apparel, habitation,'
 It. Ad Consueta, 'to the accustomed course.'

æt. 52. Beware of any fudden change in any great point of diet, and if necessitie enforce it, fit the rest to it. For it is a fecret both in nature and flate, that it is fafer to change many things then one.

1612.

TV.

To bee free minded and cherefullie difpofed at houres of meat, and of fleepe, and of exercife, is the best precept of long lafting.

1625. æt. 65. Beware of fudden Change in any great point of Diet, and if necessity inforce it, fit the rest to it. For it is a Secret, both in Nature, and State: That it is fafer to change Many Things, then one. 5 Examine thy Customes, of Diet, Sleepe, Exercife, Apparell,6 and the like; And trie in any Thing, thou shalt judge hurtfull, to discontinue it by little and little: But fo, as if thou doest finde any Inconuenience by the Change, thou come backe to it7 againe: For it is hard to distinguish, that which is generally held good, and wholesome,8 from that, which is good particularly, and fit for thine owne Body.9 To be free minded, and cheerefully disposed, at Houres of Meat, and of Sleep, and of Exercise, is one of the best Precepts of Long lafting. As for the Passions and Studies of the Minde: Auoid Enuie: Anxious Feares; Anger fretting inwards; Subtill

Held good and wholesome. Sunt salubria, 'are wholesome.'
 Body. Corporis tui unici Constitutioni, 'the constitution of thy body alone.

III. 1607-12. æt. 47-52.

¶ If you flie Physicke in health altogether, it will be too strange to your body, will worke no extraordinarie effect when fickneffe commeth.

If you fly Phisicke in health altogither, it wilbe too strange for your body when you shall neede it, if when you shall neede it; If you make it too familiar, it you make it too familiar, it will worke no extraordinarie effect, when fickneffe commeth.

T Despise no new accident Dispise noe new accident in the body, but aske in thie body, but aske opinion of it.

opinion of it.

Communicated. Alte pressam, et non communicatam, 'pressed down, and not communicated.'
 Wonder. Omitted in the Latin.
 Strange. Ingratior, 'too unpleasant.'

æt. 52. IV. T612.

If you fly Phisicke in healthaltogether, it will bee too strange for your body, when you shall need it: if you make it too familiar, it will worke no extraordinarie effect, when ficknesse commeth commeth.

Despise no new accident in your body, but aske opinion of it.

and knottie Inquisitions; Ioyes, and Exhilarations in Excesse; Sadnesse not Communicated, 10 Entertaine Hopes; Mirth rather then Iov: Varietie of Delights, rather then Surfet of them; Wonder,11 and Admiration, and therefore Nouelties; Studies that fill the Minde with Splendide and Illustrious Objects. as Histories, Fables, and Contemplations of Nature. If you flie Physicke in Health altogether, it will be too ftrange¹² for your Body, when you shall need it. If you make it too familiar, it will worke no Extraordinary Effect,13 when Sickneffe I commend rather, fome Diet, for certaine Seafons, then frequent Vfe of *Phyficke*, Except it be growen into a Custome. For those Diets alter the Body more, and trouble it leffe. Despise no new14 Accident,

1625.

æt. 65.

in your Body, but aske Opinion¹⁵ of it.

¹³ Extraordinary Effect. Detrahet de viribus et efficacia ejus, 'it will de-

tract from its strength and efficacy.'

14 New. Novum et insuetum, 'new and unaccustomed.'

15 Opinion. Consilium Medicorum, 'opinion of physicians.'

¶ In fickeneffe respect health principally, and in health action. For those that put their bodies to indure in health, may in most sickenesses which are not very sharpe, be cured onelve with diet and tendring.

III. 1607-12. æt. 47-52.

In ficknes health principally, and in health accion. Ffor those that putt theire bodyes to endure in health, may in most sicknesses which are not verie sharpe, be cured onely with dyett, and tendering.

T Physitians are some of Phisitians are some of

them fo pleasing and con- them foe pleasing and conformable* to the humours formable to the humors of the patient, as they of the Patient, as they

^{*} Comfortable, in 1598 Edition.

¹⁶ Action. Corpore tuo utere, nec sis nimis delicatus, 'use your body and be not too delicate.

¹⁷ Tendering. Corporis Regimine paulo exquisitiore, . . . absque multa Medicatione, 'by a little more careful tendering of the body without much doctoring.

In fickeneffe respect health principally, and in health action. For those that put their bodies to endure in health, may in most sicknesses, which are not very sharpe, be cured onely with diet and

tendering.

Celfus could neuer haue fpoken it as a Physitian had he not been a wife man withall; when he giueth it for one of the great precepts of health and lafting. That a man doe varie and interchange contraries, but with an inclination to the more being extreame; víe fasting, and full eating, but rather full eating; watching and fleepe, but rather fleepe, fitting and exercife, but rather exercise, and the like. So shall nature bee cherished and vet taught masteries.

Physitians are some of them fo pleasing and conformable to the humors of the Patient, as they

1625. V. æt. 65

In Sicknesse, respect Health principally; And in Health, Action. 16 For those that put their Bodies, to endure in Health, may in most Sicknesses which are not very sharpe, be cured onely with Diet. and

Tendering.17

Celfusa could neuer haue fpoken it as a Physician. had he not been a Wife Man withall; when he giueth it, for one of the great precepts of Health and Lasting, That a Man doe vary, and enterchange Contraries; But with an Inclination to the more benigne Extreme: Vfe Fasting, and full Eating, but rather full Eating; Watching and Sleep, but rather Sleep; Sitting, and Exercise, but rather Exercise; and the like. So shall Nature be cherished, and taught Masteries.18

Physicians are some of them fo pleasing, and conformable19 to the Humor of the Patient, as

^a A. C. Celsus. De re medica, i. I.

 ¹⁸ Masteries. Robur acquiret, 'acquire strength.'
 19 Conformable. Erga Aegrum, et ejus Desideria, tam sunt indulgentes, are so indulgent to the sick and his desires.'

presse not the true cure of the disease; and some other are so regular in proceeding according to Arte for the disease, as they respect not sufficiently the condition of the patient. Take one of a middle temper, or if it may not bee sound in one man, compound two of both forts, and forget not to cal as wel the bestasciplariated with your body, as the best reputed of for his facultie.

III. 1607-12. æt. 47-52.

presse not the true cure of the disease; and some other are soe regular in proceedinge according to Art for the disease, as they respect not sufficiently the condicion of the Patient. Take one of a middle temper, or if it may not be sound in one Man, combyne two of both fortes, and forgett not to call aswell the best acquainted with your body, as the best reputed of, for his facultye.





Regular. Regulares et rigidi, 'regular and rigid.'
 Condition. Conditionem et Naturam, 'condition and nature.'

presse not the true cure of the difeafe; and fome other are fo regular, in proceeding according to art for the difeafe, as they refpect not fufficiently the condition of the Patient. Take one of a middle temper, or if it may not be found in one man, combine two of both forts: and forget not to call aswell the best acquainted with your bodie, as the best 1625. æt. 65.

presse not the true Cure of the Difease; And some other are fo Regular, 20 in proceeding according to Art, for the Difeafe, as they refpect not fufficiently the Condition²¹ of the Patient. Take one of a Middle Temper; Or if it may not be found in one Man, combine two of either fort: And forget not to call, aswell the best acquainted22 with your Body, as the best reputed of, for his faculty, reputed of for his Faculty





The best acquainted. Gnarum, non minus quam, 'not less acquainted

No variations in Text II.

[8.] Of Honour and reputation.



HE winning of
Honour is but
the reuealing of
a mans vertue

and worth without difaduantage, for fome in their actions doe affect Honour and reputation, which fort of men are commonly much talked of, but inwardly little admired: and fome darken their vertue in the flew of it, fo as they be vnder-valewed in opinion.

If a man performe that which hath not beene attempted before, or attempted and giuen ouer, or hath beene atchieued, but not with fo good circumstance, he shall purchase more Honour then by effecting a matter of greater difficultie or ver-

tue, wherein he is but a

follower.

III. 1607-12. æt. 47-52.

Harleian MS. 5106.

21. Of Honor and reputation.



He true Wynning
of Honor is but
the revealinge of
a Mans vertue

and worth without difaduantage; For fome in theire accions doe affect honour and reputacion, which forte of Men are commonly much talked of, but inwardlie litle admired; and fome darken their vertue in the shewe of it, so as they be vndervalued in opinion.

If a Man performe that which hath not beene attempted before, or attempted and given over, or hath beene atchieved, but not with foe good Circumstance, he shall purchase more honor, then by effecting a matter of greater difficultie, or vertue, wherein he is but a Follower.

If a Man confider wherein others have given diftaft.

BH. Variations in posthumous Latin Edition of 1638.

¹ Winning. Vera, et jure optimo, Acquisitio, 'the true and rightful winning.'

² Honour, Honoris et Existimationis, 'honour and reputation.'

e. V. 1625. æt. 65.

British Museum Copy.

Of Hononr and reputation.

55. Of Honour and Reputation.



He Winning¹ of

Honour,² is but
the Reuealing of
a Mans Vertue

and Worth, without Difaduantage.3 For fome in their Actions, doe Wooe and affect4 Honour, and Reputation: Which Sort of Men, are commonly much Talked of. but inwardly little Admired. And fome, contrariwife, darken their Vertue, in the Shew of it; So as they be vnder-valued in opinion. If a Man performe that which hath not beene attempted before: Or attempted and giuen ouer; Or hath beene atchieued. but not with fo good Circumstance; he shall purchase more Honour, then by Effecting a Matter of greater Difficulty, or Vertue, wherein he is but a Follower.

[This Effay does not occur in the 1612 Edition.]

* Wooe and affect. Proci Famæ sunt, et veluti Venatores, 'are wooers and as it were hunters of fame.'

Without disaduantage. Dextre et absque detrimento, 'dexterously and without disadvantage.'

¶ If a man fo temper his actions as in fome one of them hee doe content euerie faction or combination of people, the Musicke will be the fuller.

¶ A man is an ill husband of his Honour that entereth into any action, the failing wherein may difgrace him more than the carrying of it through can Honour him. III. 1607-12. æt. 47-52 and wynne honor vponn theire envye, the beame will be the quicker.

If a Man fo temper his accions, as in fome one of them, he doe content every faction, or combinacion of People, the Musick will be the fuller.

A Man is an ill hufband of his honor, that entreth into anie accion, the faylinge wherein may difgrace him more, then the carrying of it throughe can honor him.

¶ Difcreete followers helpe much to reputation.

T Enuie which is the canker of Honour, is best extinguished by declaring a

Discreete followers helpe much to reputacion.

Envy which is the Canker of honour, is best extinguished by declaring a

Temper. Inter se committat, et contemperet, 'combine and temper.'
 Gained and broken vpon Another. Qui Cemparativus est, et Alium progravat, 'which is comparative and depresses another.'
 Diamonds. Adamantis, aut Carbineni, 'a diamond or carbuncle.'

This Effay does not occur in the 1612 Edition.]

If a Man fo temper⁵ his Actions, as in fome one of them, hee doth content euerieFaction,orCombination of People, the Musicke will bee the fuller.

A man is an ill Husband of his *Honour*, that entreth into any Action, the Failing wherein may difgrace him more, then the Carving of it through can Honor him.

Honour, that is gained and broken vpon Another. hath the quickest Reflection; Like Diamonds7 cut with Fascets. And therefore, let a Man contend, to excell any Competitors of his in Honour, in Outshooting them, if he can, in their owne Bowe.8

Difcreet Followers and Seruants helpe much to Reputation. 9 Omnis Fama à Domesticis emanat.a

Enuv, which is the Canker 10 of Honour, is best extinguished, by declaring

[&]quot; All Fame proceeds from servants. Cicero. De petitione consulatus, v.

⁸ In their owne Bowe. In iis, in guibus ipsi summe gloriantur, 'surpass them in those things on which they chiefly pride themselves.' 2 Omnis Fama. Ita Quintus Cicero, omnis, &c., 'thus Q[uintus] Cicero says, Omnis, &c.'.
10 Canker. Tinea et Teredo 'moth and worm.'

his

I. & II. 1597-8. æt. 37-8. mans felfe in his ends, rather to feeke merite then fame, and by attributing a mans fucceffes rather to diuine prouidence and

felicitie then to vertue or policie.

The true Marshalling of the degrees of Soueraigne honour are thefe.

In the first place are Conditores, founders of states.

In the fecond place are Legislatores Lawgiuers, which are also called fecond founders, or Perpetui principes, because they gouerne by their ordinances after they are gone.

In the third place are In the third place are Liberatores, fuch as compound the warres, or deliver their warres, or deliver their

1607-12. æt. 47-52 III. Mans felfe in his endes. rather to feeke meritt, then fame, and by attributing a

mans fucceffes rather to divine providence, and felicitye, then his vertue or pollicie.

The true Marshalling of the degrees of Sovereigne

honor are theis.

In the first place are Conditores, Founders of States.

In the fecond place are Legislatores, Law givers which are also called fecond Founders or Perpetui Principes, because they governe by theire ordinances after they are gone.

Liberatores. Such as compound the miferies of civill long miseryes of Civill

11 Saluatores. Servatores Patriarum suarum, 'preservers of their country.'

V. 1625. æt. 65.

Mans Selfe, in his Ends, rather to feeke Merit, then Fame: And by Attributing a Mans Succeffes, rather to divine Providence and Felicity, then to his owne Vertue or Policy.

The true Marshalling of the Degrees of Soueraigne

Honour are thefe.

In the First Place are Conditores Imperiorum; Founders of States, and Common - Wealths: Such as were Romulus, Cyrus, Cæfar, Ottoman, Ifmael. In the Second Place are Legis-latores, Lawgiuers; which are also called. Second Founders, or Perpetui Principes, because they Gouerne by their Ordinances, after they are gone: Such were Lycurgus, Solon, Iustinian, Eadgar, Alphonfus of Castile, the Wife, that made the Siete Partidas.

In the Third Place, are *Liberatores*, or *Saluatores*.¹¹ Such as compound the long Miferies of Ciuill Warres, or deliuer their

This Effay does not occur

in the 1612 Edition.]

Alphonso X. of Castile, surnamed 'The Wise' [b. 1226—d. 4 Apr. 1284], was the author of a legal Code, called Las siete partidas, from its seven parts or sections. It was first printed at Seville in 1491; and a copious Latin index of it by G. Lopez à Touar appeared at Salamanca in 1576.

I. & II. 1597-8. æt. 37-8. Countries from feruitude of strangers or tyrants.

III. 1607-12. æt. 47-52. Countryes from fervitude of Strangers or Tyrantes.

In the fourth place are Propagatores or Propugnatores imperii, fuch as in honourable warres enlarge their territories, or make noble defence against Inuaders.

And in the last place are Patres patriæ, which raigne iustly and make the times good wherein they liue.

In the fourth place are Propagatores or Propugnatores Imperii, fuch as in honorable warres large theire Territories, or make noble defence against Invaders.

And in the last place are Patres patriæ, which reigne iustly and make the tymes good wherein they live.

Degrees of honour in fubiects are

first Participes curarum, those vpon whome Princes doe discharge the greatest waight of their affaires, their Right handes (as wee call them.)

The next are Du es belli, great leaders, such as are Princes, Lieutenants, and degrees of honor in Subiectes are

first Participes curarum, those vponn whom Princes doe discharge the greatest weight of theire affaiers, theire Right handes (as wee call them.)

The next are Duces belli, great leaders, fuch as are Princes Liuetenauntes and do them notable feruices doe them notable fervices

¹² Noble defence. Defensione strenua et Nobili, 'energetic and noble defence.

IV. æt. 52. 1612.

Countries from Seruitude of Strangers, or Tyrants: As Augustus Cæfar, Vefpafianus, Aurelianus, Theodoricus, K. Henry the 7. of England, K. Henry the 4. of France.

1625. æt. 65.

In the Fourth Place, are Propagatores or Propugnatores Imperij; Such as in Honourable Warres enlarge their Territories, or make Noble defence12

against Inuaders.

And in the Last Place, are Patres Patriæ; which reigne iustly, and make the Times good, wherein they liue.13 Both which last Kindes. need no Examples, they are in fuch Number.

Degrees of Honour in Subiects are:

First, Participes Curarum: Those vpon whom 14 Princes doe discharge the greatest Weight of their Affaires: Their Right Hands, as we call them.

The Next are, Duces Belli, Great Leaders; Such as are Princes Lieutenants, and doe them Notable Services

This Effay does not occur in the 1612 Edition.

¹⁸ Make the Times good. Temporibus felicibus, quamdiu vivumt, Cives suos beant, 'bless their subjects with happy times while they live.'
18 Vpon whom. Quorum humeris, 'on whose shoulders'

I. & II. 1597-8. æt. 37-8. III. 1607-12. æt. 47-52.

in the wars.

The third are Gratiofi, fauorites, fuch as exceede not this fcantling to bee follace to the Soueraigne and harmeleffe to the people.

And the fourth Negotiis pares, fuch as haue great place vnder Princes, and

execute their places with fufficiencie.



in the Warres.

The third are Gration fauorites fuch as exceede not this fcantling to be folace to the Sovereigne. and harmeles to the People.

And the fourth Negotiis pares, fuch as have great place vnder Princes, and doe execute their places with fufficiencye.



¹⁸ Exceed not this Scantling. Non ultra hoc potes sunt, have no power peyond this."

V. 1625. æt. 65.

in the Warres.

The Third are, *Gratiofi*, *Fauourites*; Such as exceed not this Scantling; ¹⁵ To be Solace to the Soueraigne, and Harmelesse to the People.

And the Fourth, Negotijs pares; Such as haue great Places vnder Princes, and

execute their Places

with Sufficiency.

There is an *Honour* likewife, which may be ranked amongfithe Greateff, which happeneth rarely: That is, of fuch as *Sacrifice themfelues*, to *Death* or *Danger*, for the *Good* of *their Countrey*: As was *M. Regulus*, and the Two *Decij*.

[This Effay does not occur in the 1612 Edition.]

I. & II. 1597-8. æt. 37-8. For variations of II., see footnotes.

[9.] Of faction.



Anie haue a newe wifedome, indeed, a fond opinion; That

for a Prince to gouerne his eflate, or for a great perfon to gouerne his proceedings according to the refpects of Factions, is the principal part of pollicie. Whereas contrariwife, the chiefest wisedome is either in ordering those things which are generall, and wherein men of feuerall Factions doe nevertheleffe agree, or in dealing with correspondence to particular persons one by one, But I fay not that the confideration of Factions is to be neglected.

¶ Meane men

must adheare, but great men that have strength in themselues were better to maintaine themselues indifferent and neutrall: vet euen in beginners to adheare fo moderatly, as he be a man of the one Fac-

III. 1607-12. æt. 47-52. Harleian MS. 5106.

20. Of faction.



Anie have an opinion not wife:

That

for a Prince to governe his estate, or for a great perfon to governe his proceedinges according to the refpectes of factions, is the principall part of policie. Whereas contrary wife, the cheifest wisedome is either in ordering those thinges which are generall, and wherein Men of feverall factions doe nevertheles agree, or in dealing with correspondence to particuler persons, one by one, But I fay not that the confideracion of ffactions is to be neglected.

Meane men must adhere, but great men that have strength in themselves were better to mainteine themselves indifferent, and neutrall; yet even in beginners to adhere fo moderately, as he be a man of the one Fac

BE. Variations in posthumous Latin Edition of 1638.

⁻ TITLE. De Factionibus, 'of factions.'

34. Of faction.



Any haue an opinion not wife;

That for a Prince to gouerne his estate, or for a great perfon to gouerne his proceedings, according to the refpect of factions, is the principall part of pollicy: whereas contrariwife, the chiefest wisdome is either in ordering those things which are generall, and wherein men of feuerall factions doe neuertheleffe agree, or in dealing with correspondence to particuler perfons, one by one. But I fay not, that the confideration of factions is to be neglected.

Meane men

must adhere, but great men that haue strength in themselues were better to maintaine themselues indifferent, and neutrall. Yet euen in beginners to adhere so moderatly, as he be a man of the one sacV. 1625. æt. 65.
British Museum Copy.

Dritish Museum Copy.

51. Of Faction. 1



Any haue an Opinion not wife;

That

for a Prince to Gouerne his Estate: Or for a Great Perfon to gouerne his Proceedings, according to the Refpect of Factions, is a Principall Part of Policy: whereas contrariwife, the Chiefest Wisdome is, either in Ordering those Things, which are Generall, and wherein Men of Seuerall Factions doe neuertheleffe agree; Or in dealing with Correspondence to Particular Persons,2 one by one. But I fay not, that the confideration of Factions, is to be Neglected.

Meane Men, in their Rifing, muft adhere; But Great Men, that haue Strength in themfelues, were better to maintaine themfelues Indifferent, and Neutrall. Yet euen in beginners, to adhere fo moderately, as hee bee a Man of the one Fac-

² Dealing with Correspondence, &c. Vel in palpandis, conciliandis et tractandis singulis. 'or in touching, conciliating, and treating with particular persons.'

tion, which is paffableft with the other, commonly giueth best way.

The lower and weaker Faction is the firmer in conjunction.

T When one of the Fac- When one of the Factions is extinguished, the tions is extinguished, the

Faction.

III. 1607-12. æt. 47-52. tion, which is paffablest with thother, commonly giveth best way.

The lower and weaker Faction is the firmer in conjunction:

remaining fubdivideth remayning fubdivideth. which is good for a fecond which is good for a fecond.

^{*} Faction, omitted in 1508 Edition.

³ Most Passable. Et tamen Parti adversæ minime odiosus, 'and still is not odious (i.e. the man) to the adverse faction.

⁴ Giueth best Way. Viam quandam sternit ad Honores, per Medium Factionum, 'paves a way to honours by means of factions.'

tion, which is paffablest with the other, commonly giueth best way.

The lower and weaker faction is the firmer in

conjunction.

When one of the factions is extinguished, the remaining fubdiuideth: which is good for a fecond. 1625. æt. 65.

tion, which is most Passable3 with the other, commonly

giueth best Wav.4

The Lower and Weaker Faction, is the firmer⁵ in Conjunction: And it is often feene, that a few. that are Stiffe,6 doe tire out,7 a greater Number, that are more Moderate.

When One of the Factions is Extinguished, the Remaining Subdivideth:

As the Faction, betweene Lucullus, and the Rest of the Nobles of the Senate (which they called Optimates) held out a while,8 against the Faction of Pompey and Cæfar: But when the Senates Authority was pulled Downe, Cæfar and Pompey foone after brake. The Faction or Partie of Antonius, and Octavianus Cæfar, against Brutus and Cassius, held out likewise for a time: But when Brutus and Caffius were ouerthrowne,

Firmer. Firmer et constantior, 'firmer and more consistent.'
 Stiffe. Obstinati et pertinaces, 'obstinate and persevering.'
 Tire out. In fine defatigare et depellere, 'in the end tire out and displace.'

Held out a while. In satis magno Vigore, 'with sufficient vigour.'

I. & II. 1597-8. æt. 37-8. III. 1607-12. æt. 47-52.

It is commonly feene that men once placed, take in with the contrarie faction to that by which they enter.

It is commonly feene, that Men once placed take in with the contrary faction to that by which they enter.

The Traitor in Factions The Traitor in ffactions lightly goeth away with it, lightly goeth away with it, for when matters have For when matters have flucke long in ballancing, fluck long in ballancinge, the winning of some one the wynning of some one

10 Proue ciphars and Casheer'd. Potestate omni excidunt, 'fall out of all

⁹ Brake and Subdivided. Cum Partibus suis, paulo post dissilierunt, 'with their parties soon after divided.

¹¹ Once Placed. Postquam Voti competes sint, et in Dignitate quam ambierunt collocati, 'when they have obtained their wish and are placed in the dignity which they desired.

æt. 52. V. 1625. æt. 65. IV. 1612.

> then foone after Antonius and Octavianus brake and Subdinided.9 Thefe Examples are of Warres, but the fame holdeth in Prinate Factions. And therefore, those that are Seconds in Factions, doe many times, when the Faction Subdivideth, proue Principals: But many times alfo, they proue Ciphars and Cafheer'd:10 For many a Mans Strength is in oppofition; And when that faileth, he groweth out of vfe.

It is commonly feene, that men once placed, take in with the contrary faction to that, by which they enter. It is commonly feene, that Menonce Placed, 11 take in with the Contrary Faction to that, by which they enter; Thinking belike that they haue the First Sure;12 And now are Readie for a New Purchafe.

The Traitor in factions lightly goeth away with it: for when matters haue flucke long in balancing, flucke long in Ballancing,

The Traitour in Faction lightly goeth away with it;13 For when Matters haue the winning of fome one the Winning of fome one

¹² That they have the First Sure, &c. Se de alterius Factionis Affectu et That they hade the First Sure, &c. Se de alterius Factionis Affectu et Studiis, jamdudum certos esse; Itaque ad Amicos novos conciliandos se comparare, 'that they have been long sure of the goodwill and zeal of the other faction, and so prepare themselves to gain new friends.' 13 Lightly goeth away with it. Plerunque rem obtinet, 'commonly gets an advantage.'

I. & II. 1597-8. æt. 37-8. man casteth them, and hee getteth all the thankes.

III. 1607-12. æt. 47-52. Man cafteth them, and he getteth all the thankes.





15 Haue often in their Mouth. De quo Vox illa, in Vulgus volitat, 'about whom this saying is common among the people.'

¹⁴ Truenesse to a Mans Selfe. A Consilio callido, quandoquidem proximus sibi quisque sit, 'from a crafty plan, since each man is nearest to himself.'

man casteth them and he getteth all the thankes. The euen carriage betweene two factions, proceedeth not alwaies of moderation, but of a trueneffe to a mans felfe, with end to make vse of both. Certainely in Italie they hold it a little fuspect in Popes, when they have often in their mouth Padre Commune, and take it to be afigne of one that meaneth to referre all to the greatneffe of his own house.



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Man casteth them, and he getteth all the Thankes. The Euen Carriage betweene two Factions, proceedeth not alwaies of Moderation, but of a Trueneffetoa Mans Selfe,14 with End to make vie of both. Certainly in Italy, they hold it a little fuspect in Popes, when they have often in their Mouth. 15 Padre commune: And take it, to be a Signe of one, that meaneth to referre all, to the Greatneffe of his owne House.

Kings had need beware, how they Side themfelues, and make themfelues as of a Faction or Partie: 16 For Leagues, within the State, are euer Pernicious to Monarchies; For they raife an Obligation, Paramount to Obligation of Soueraigntie, and make the King, Tanguàm vnus ex nobis: As was to be feene, in the League of France.

When Factions are carried

When Factions are carried too high, 17 and too vio-

17 Carried too high. Manuforti, et palam, concertant, 'contend with the strong hand and openly.'

a As one of us.

¹⁶ Faction or Partie. Factioni alicui Subditorum suorum, 'any faction of their subjects.'

I. & II. 1597-8. æt. 37-8. III. 1607-12. æt. 47-52.

lently; it is a Signe of Weakneffe in Princes; And much to the Preiudice, both of their Authoritie, and Bufineffe.

The Motions of Factions, vnder Kings, ought to be like the Motions (as the Aftronomers fpeake) of the Inferiour Orbs; which may have their Proper Motions, but yet ftill, are quietly carried, by the

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Higher Motion, of Primum

Mobile.

I. & II. 1597-8. æt. 37-8. For Variations of II., see footnotes.

[10.] Of Aegociating.



T is generally better to deale by fpeech then by letter, and by

the mediation of a thirde then by a mans felfe. Letters are good when a man woulde draw an answere by letter backe againe, or when it may ferue for a iustification afterwards to produce his owne letter.

To deale in person is good when a mans face breedes regard, as commonly with inferiours.

III. 1607-12. æt. 47-52 Harleian MS. 5106.

16. Of Regociatinge.



T is generally bet ter to deale by fpeach, then by letter and by

the mediacion of a third. then by a mans felf; Letters are good when a Man would drawe an aunsweare by letter back againe, or when it may ferve for a mans Iustificacion afterwardes to produce his owne letter.

To deale in person is good when a mans face breedes regard, as commonly with Inferiours.

¶ In choyce of instru- In choise of Instru-

VI. Variations in posthumous Latin Edition of 1638.

¹ Justification. Vbi sua intersit, 'when it may be to a man's profit.'
2 Letter. Exemplaria Literarum, quas scripsit, producere, et monstrare, 'to produce and show the copy of the letter which he wrote'

33. Of Aegociating.



T is generallie better to deale by fpeach, then by letter, and by

the mediation of a third. then by a mans felfe. Letters are good when a man would draw an answer by letter backe againe, or when it may ferue for a mans iustification wards to produce his owne letter, or where it may bee danger to bee interrupted or heard by Peeres.* To deale in person is good when a mans face breeds regard, as commonly with inferiours, or in tender cases where a mans eie vpon the countenance of him with whom one fpeaketh, may give him a direction how farre to goe, generally where man will referue to himfelfe libertie either to difaduowe, or to expound. choise of inftru-

V. 1625. æt. 65.

British Museum Copy.

47. Of Regociating.



T is generally better to *deale* by Speech, then by Letter; And by

the Mediation of a Third. then by a Mans Selfe. Let ters are good, when a Ma would draw an Answer by Letter backeagaine; Or when it may ferue, for a Mans Iustification,1 after wards to produce his owne Letter;² Or where it may be Danger to be interrupted, or heard by Peeces. To deale in Perfon is good, when a Mans Face breedeth Regard, as Commonly with Inferiours;3 Or in Tender Cafes,4 where a Mans Eve. vpon the Countenance of him with whom he fpeaketh, may giue him a Direction, how farre to goe: And generally, where a Man will referue to himfelfe Libertie, either Difavow, or to Expound.5 Choice of

^{*} peaces in Grenville copy, No. 10, 365.

Interiours. In Colloquio cum Inferiore: 'in conversation with an inferior.'

⁴ Tender cases. Rebus, quas extremis tantum digitis tangere convenit;

^{&#}x27;in cases which should be touched only with the tips of the fingers.'
5 Expound. Interpretandiea quae diverit, 'to expound what he has said.

I. & II. 1597-8. æt. 37-8. ments it is better to choose men of a plainer forte that are like to doe that that is committed to them; and to reporte backe againe faithfully the fuccesse, then those that are cunning to contriue out of other mens bufinesse somewhat to grace themselues, and will helpe the matter in reporte for

fatisfactions fake.

III. 1607-12. æt. 47-52. mentes it is better to choose men of a playner forte, that are like to doe that, that is committed to them, and to reporte backe againe faithfully the fuccesse, then those that are cunning to contrive out of other mens businesse somewhat to grace themselves, and will helpe the matter in report for fatisfactions fake.

⁶ Instruments. In tractando per alios, 'in treating by means of others.'
7 Better. Cautius et melius, 'safer and better.'
8 Grace themselves. Qui ex aliorum Negotiis, aliquid in se Honoris aut Vitilitatis transferre, callidi sunt, 'that are cunning to transfer to themselves some honory or profit from other ren's busines.' some honour or profit from other men's business.

ments it is better to choose men of a plainer fort, that are like to doe that, that is committed to them, and to report backe againe faithfully the successe, then those that are cunning to contriue out of other mens busines, somewhat to grace themselues, and will helpe the matter in report for satisfaction sake.

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ments,6 it is better,7 to choose Men of a Plainer Sort, that are like to doe that, that is committed to them, and to report back again faithfully the Successe: Then those, that are Cunning to Contriue out of other Mens Busineffe, fomewhat to grace themselues;8 And will helpe the Matter, in Report,9 for Satisfaction fake. Viealfo. fuch Persons, as affect the Businesse, wherin they are Employed: For that quickneth10 much; And fuch, as are Fit for the Matter; As Bold Men for Expostulation, Faire spoken Men for Perswasion, Crastie Menfor Enquiry and Observation. Froward and Abfurd Men for Businesse that doth not well beare out it Selfe. 11 Vfe alfo fuch, as haue beene Luckie, and Preuailed before in Things wherein you haue Emploied them; For that breeds Confidence, and

[•] Help the Matter, in Report. Atque ea, quæ referent, verbis emollient, ut impense placeant, 'and smoothe by their words what they report to give great pleasure.'

¹⁰ Quickneth. Industriam acuit, 'sharpeneth industry.'
11 Beare out it Selfe. Quæ aliquid iniqui habent, 'which have something unjust about them.'

III. 1607-12. æt. 47-52.

¶ It is better to found a person with whome one deales a farre off, then to fal vppon the pointe at first, except you meane to furprife him by fome fhorte question.

T It is better dealing with men in appetite then with those which are where

they would be.

T If a man deale with an other vppon conditions, the flarte or first performance is all, which a man can not reasonably demaunde, except either the nature of the thing be fuch which must goe before, or else a man can perfwade the other partie that he shall still neede him in fome other thing, or elfe that he bee counted the honester man.

¶ All practife is to difcouer or to worke: men difcouer themselues in trust,

It is better to sound a person with whom one deales afarre of, then to fall vppon the pointe at first, except you meane to fupprife him by fome shorte question.

It is better dealing with men in appetite, then with those which are where

they would be.

If a man deale with an other vponn condicions. the flart, or first performance is all, which a man cannott reasonably demaunde, except either the nature of the thing be fuch which must goe before, or els a man can perfuade the other partie, that he shall still neede him in fome other thing, or els that he be counted the honester Man.

All practize is to difcover, or to worke: Men difcover themselves in trust,

¹² Striue. Omnem Lapidem movebunt, 'will move every stone.'

¹³ Sound . . . afar off. Primo leviter degustare, et quasi ex longinquo, 'to try lightly at first, and as if from afar off.'
14 Surprize. Irretire et opprimere, 'entangle and surprise.'
15 Men in Appetite. Qui in Ambitu sunt, 'who are striving for honour.'

It is better to found a person with whom one deales a farre off, then to fall vpon the point at first, except you meane to supprife him by fome fhort question.

It is better dealing with men in appetite, then with those which are where

they would bee.

If a man deale with an other vpon conditions. the flart or first performance is all, which a man cannot reasonably demand, except either the nature of the thing be fuch which must goe before, or elfe a man can perswade the other party. that hee shall still neede him in fome other thing, or elfe that he be counted the honester man.

All practife is to difcouer or to worke: Men difcouer themselues in trust,

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they will striue12 to maintaine their Prescription.

It is better, to found¹³ a Person, with whom one Deales, a farre off, then to fall vpon the Point at first; Except you meane to furprize¹⁴ him by fome Short Ouestion.

It is better Dealing with Men in Appetite,15 then with those that are where

they would be.

If a man Deale with another vpon Conditions, the Start or First Performance16 is all: Which a Man cannot reasonably Demaund, except either the Nature of the Thing be fuch, which must goe before: Or Elfe a Man can perswade the other Partie, that hee shall still need him, in fome other Thing; Or elfe that he be counted the Honester Man. 17

All Practife18 is to Difcouer, or to Worke. Men Difcouer themselues, in Trust.19

especially upright and truthful.'

Practise. Negotiatio, 'negotiation.'
 In Trust. Vel Animum suum communicando, 'either by communicating

¹⁶ Start or First Performance. Prima veluti Occupatio, aut Possessio Votorum, in practipuis numeranda, 'the first seizure, as it were, or the possession of one's wishes, is to be considered the chief point.'
17 Houester Man. Pro Homine imprimis integro et verace, 'for a man

their minds.

in passion, at vnwares and of necessitie, when they would haue somewhat donne, and cannot find an apt precept.* If you would worke any man, you must either know his nature, and fashions and so leade him, or his ends, and so winne him, or his weakenesses or difaduantages, and so awe him, or those that haue interest in him and so gouerne him.

¶ In dealing with cunning perfons, we must euer confider their endes to interpret their speeches, and it is good to say little to them, and that which they least looke for.

FINIS.



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in paffion, att vnawarres and of necessitie when they would have fomewhat done, and cannott finde an apt pretext. If you would worke any Man, you must either knowe his nature, and fashions, and fo leade him, or his endes, and fo perfuade him, or his weakenes, or difadvantages, and fo awe him, or those that have interest in him, and so governe them.

In dealing with cunning perfons, wee must ever confider theire endes, to interprete theire speaches, and it is good to say litle to them, and that which they least looke for.



^{*} pretext, in 1598 Edition. § weaknesse, in 1508 Edition.

²⁰ In Passion. Vel cum Ira commoti sunt, nec se bene cohibere sciunt; 'or when moved with anger and unable to restrain themselves.'

²¹ Work any Man. Si quem ad Nutum fingere cupias, ut inde efficias aliquid, 'if you would work any man to your will to gain anything thereby.'

in paffion, at vnawares, and of neceffity, when they would haue fomewhat done, and cannot finde an apt pretext. If you would worke any man, you must either know his nature, and fashions, and so leade him; or his endes, and so perswade him; or his weaknes or difaduantages, and so awe him, or those that haue interest in him, and so gouerne them.

In dealing with cunning perfons, we must euer confider their endes to interpret their speeches; and it is good to say little to them, and that which they least looke for



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In Passion, 20 At vnawares; And of Necessitie, when they would haue somewhat done, and cannot finde an apt Pretext. If you woulde *Worke* any Man, 21 you must either know his Nature, and Fashions, and so Lead him; Or his Ends, and so Perswade him; Or his Weaknesse, and Disaduantages, and so Awe him; or those that haue Interest 22 in him, and so Gouerne him.

In *Dealing* with Cunning Perfons, we must ever Confider their Ends,²⁸ to interpret their Speeches; And it is good, to say little to them, and that which they least looke for.

In all *Negociations* of Difficultie, a Man may not looke, to Sowe and Reape at once; But must Prepare Businesse, and so Ripen it by Degrees.



22 Those that have Interest. Aut denique Amici ejus, qui plurimum apud eum valent, conciliandi, 'or lastly, you must conciliate his friends, who have the greatest influence with him.'

23 Consider their Ends. Verbis corum minime credendum, nisi Fines et Intentiones eorum habeas Verborum Interpretes, 'their words must be but little believed, unless you have their ends and intentions to interpret their words.'



SACRED MEDITATIONS.

The Latin Version of 1597. Text I.

PLACED ON OPPOSITE PAGES TO

The English Version of 1598. Text II.



OF THE COLOURS OF GOOD & EVIL.

First Published in 1597. Text I.

Literal corrections of 1598 edition, Text II, are shown between [].



M E D I T A-T I O N E S S A C R Æ.



LONDINI.

Excudebat Iohannes Windet.

I 5 9 7.

[No separate title.

The text follows on immediately after the Effaies.]

- 1 De operibus Dei, et hominis
- 2 De miraculis Seruatoris
- 3 De columbina innocentia, et serpentina prudentia
- 4 De exaltatione Charitatis
- 5 De menfura curarum
- 6 De Spe terrestri
- 7 De Hypocritis.
- 8 De impostoribus.
- o De generibus Impofturæ.
- To De Atheifmo.
- 11 De Hærefibus.
- 12 De Ecclefia, et Scriptums

Meditationes facra.

- OF the workes of God and man.
- Of the miracles of our Sauiour.
- Of the innocencie of the Doue, and the wifedome of the Serpent.
- Of the exaltation of Charitie.
- Of the moderation of Cares.
- Of earthly hope.
- Of Hipocrites.
- Of Impostors.
- Of the feuerall kinds of Imposture.
- Of Atheifme.
- Of Herefies.
- Of the Church and the juriptures.



MEDITATIO-

NES SACRÆ.

De operibus Dei et hominis.



Idit Deus omnia quæ fecerant manus eius, et erant bona nimis: homo autem conuerfus, vt videret opera quæ fecerunt manus eius, inuenit quòd omnia erant vanitas, et vexatio fpiritus.

Quare si opera Dei operaberis, sudor tuus vt vnguentum aromatum, et seriatio tua vt Sabathum Dei. Laborabis in sudore bonæ conscientiæ, et seriabere in otio sauissimæ contemplationis. Si autem post magnalia hominum persequêris, erit tibi in operando stimulus et angustia, et in recordando fastidium, et exprobratio. Et merito tibi euenit (ô homo) vt cùm tu qui es opus Dei, non retribuas ei beneplacentiam; etiam opera tua reddant tibi fructum similem amaritudinis.

De miraculis Sernatoris.

Bene omnia fecit.



Erus plaufus; Deus cùm vniuerfa crearct, vidit quòd fingula, et omnia erant bona nimis. Deus verbum in miraculis qua edidit (omne autem miraculum est noua

Of the workes of God and man.



Od beheld all things which his hands had made, and lo they were al pasfing good. But when man turned him about, and tooke a view of the works which his hands had made, he found all to bee vanitie and vexation of fpirit: wherefore if thou shalt worke in the workes

of God, thy fweat shall bee as an ointment of odours, and thy rest as the Sabbaoth of God. Thou shalt trauaile in the sweate of a good conscience, and shall keepe holyday in the quietnesse and libertie of the sweetest contemplations. But if thou shalt aspire after the glorious actes of men, thy working shall bee accompanied with compunction and strife, and thy remembrance followed with distast and vpbraidings, and justly doeth it come to passe towardes thee (O man) that since thou which art Gods worke does him no reason in yeelding him well pleasing seruice, euen thine owne workes also should rewarde thee with the like fruit of bitternesse.

Of the miracles of our Saniour.

He hath done all things well.



True confession and applause: God when hee created all things, faw that every thing in particular, and all thinges in generall were exceeding good, God the worde in the miracles which hee wrought (now

euery miracle is a new creation and not according to

creatio, et non ex lege primæ creationis) nil facere voluit, auod non gratiam, et beneficentiam omnind fpiraret. Moses edidit miracula, et prosligauit Ægiptios pestibus multis; Elias edidit, et occlusit cælum ne plureret fuper terram; et rurfus eduxit de cœlo ignem dei fu er duces, et cohortes; Elizeus edidit, et euocauit vr sas è deserto quæ laniarent impuberes; Petrus Ananiam facrilegum hypocritam morte; Paulus Elimam magun. cæcitate percufsit: Sed nihil huiufmodi fecit Iefus. Descendit super eum spiritus in forma columbæ, de quo dixit, Nescitis cuius spiritus sitis, spiritus Iesu, spiritus columbinus, fuerunt illi ferui dei, tanquam boues dei triturantes granum, et conculcantes paleam: fed Iefus Agnus dei sine ira, et iudicijs. Omnia eius miracula circa corpus humanum, et doctrina eius circa animam humanam. Indiget corpus hominis alimento, defensione ab externis, et curà, Ille multitudinem piscium in retibus congregauit, vt vberiorem victum hominibus preberet, ille alimentum aquæ in dignius alimentum vini ad exhilarandum cor hominis convertit. Ille ficum, quòd officio fuo ad quod destinatum fuit, ad cibum hominis videlicet non fungeretur, arefieri iufsit. Ille penuriam piscium, et panum ad alendum exercitum populi dilatauit: Ille ventos quòd nauigantibus minarentur corripuit: Ille claudis motum cæcis lumen, mutis fermonem, languidis fanitatem, leprofis carnem mundam, demoniacis animum integrum, mortuis vitam restituit. Nullum miraculum iudicij, omnia beneficentiæ, et circa corpus humanum, nam circa divitias non est dignatus edere miracula; nisi hoc vnicum, vt tributum daretur Cæsari.

the first creation) would do nothing which breathed not towardes men fauour and bountie. Movses wrought miracles and fcourged the Egyptians with many plagues. Elias wrought miracles and thut vp heaven that no raine should fall vppon the earth, and againe brought downe from headen the fire of God vpon the captaines and their bands. Elizeus wrought also and called Beares out of the defart to deuour yong children. Peter stroke Ananias the facrilegious hipocrite with present death, and Paule Elimas the forcerer with blindnesse, but no such thing did Iesus, the fpirit of God descended downe vppon him in the forme of a Doue, of whom he faid, You know not of what fpirit you are. The spirite of Iesus is the spirit of a Doue, those feruants of God were as the Oxen of God treading out the corne and trampling the strawe downe vnder their feete, but Iesus is the Lambe of God without wrath or judgementes. All his miracles were confumate about mans bodie, as his doctrine respected the soule of man. The body of man needeth these things, sustenance, defence from outward wronges, and medicine, it was he that drew a multitude of fishes into the nets that hee might give vnto men more liberall prouison. He turned water, a lesse worthy nourishment of mans body, into wine a more worthy, that glads the heart of man. He fentenced the Figge tree to wither for not doing that duetie whereunto it was ordayned, which is to beare fruit for mens foode. He multiplyed the fcarsitie of a few loues and fishes to a sufficiency to victuaile an host of people. He rebuked the winds that threatned deftruction to the feafaring men: He restored motion to the lame, light to the blinde, speech to the dumbe. health to the fick, cleannesse to the leprous, a right mind to those that were possessed, and life to the dead No miracle of his is to bee found to have beene of judgement or reuenge, but all of goodnesse and mercy, and respecting mans bodie; for as touching riches he did not vouchsafe to do any miracle, saue one onely that tribute might be given to Cefar.

De Columbina innocentia, et Serpentina prudentia.

Non accipit stultus verba prudentiæ, nisi ea dixeris quæ versantur in corde eius.



Vdicio hominis deprauato et corrupto, omnis quæ adhibetur eruditio et perfuafio irrita eft, et defpectui quæ non ducit exordium a detectione, et reprefentatione malæ com-

plexionis animi fanandi, quem admodum inutiliter adhibetur medicina non pertentato vulnere. Nam homines malitiofi, qui nihil fani cogitant, præoccupant hoc sibi, vt putent bonitatem ex simplicitate morum, ac infcitia quadam, et imperitia rerum humanarum gigni. Quare nisi perspexerint ea quæ versantur in corde fuo, id est, penitissimas latebras malitiæ suæ perlustratas esse, ei qui fuasum molitur, de ridiculo habent verba prudentiæ; Itaque ei qui ad bonitatem afpirat, non folitariam, et particularem, sed seminalem, et genitiuam quæ alios trahat, debent effe omnind nota, quæ ille vocat Profunda Satanæ; vt loquatur cum auctoritate et infinuatione vera: Hinc est illud, Omnia probate, quod bonum est tenete. Inducens electionem iudiciosam ex generali examinatione: Ex eodem fonte est illud; Estote prudentes ficut ferpentes, innocentes ficut columbæ. Non est deus serpentis, nec venenum nec aculeus, qua non probata debeant effe, nec pollutionem quis timeat,

Of the innocency of the Done, and wisedome of the Serpent.

The foole receyueth not the words of wifedome, except thou difcouer to him what he hath in his heart.



O a man of a peruerfe and corrupt iudgement all inftruction or perfwafion is fruitleffe and contemptible, which beginnes not with discouerie, and laying open of the diffemper and ill complexion of the mind

which is to be recured as a plaster is vnseasonably applyed before the wound be fearched: for men of corrupt vnderstanding that have lost al found difcerning of good and euill, come possest with this prejudicate opinion, that they think al honesty and goodnes proceedeth out of a simplicity of manners, and a kind of want of experience and vnacquaintance with the affaires of the worlde. Therefore except they may perceive that those thinges which are in their hartes, that is to fay, their owne corrupt principles, and the deepest reaches of their cunning and rottennesse to bee throughly founded and knowne to him that goeth about to perfuade with them they make but a play of the words of wifedome. Therefore it behooueth him which aspireth to a goodnes (not retired or particular to himselfe, but a fructifying and begetting goodnesse, which should draw on others) to know those pointes, which he called in the Reuelation the deepes of That hee may speake with authoritie and true infinuation. Hence is the precept: Try all things and hold that which is good, which indureth a difcerning election out of an examination whence nothing at all is excluded, out of the fame fountain ariseth that direction: Be you wife as ferpents, and innocent as doues. There are neither teeth nor stinges, nor venime, nor wreathes and fouldes of ferpents which ought not to be all known, and as far as exnam et fol ingreditur latrinas, nec inquinatur, nec quis fe deum tentare credat, nam ex præcepto est, Et sufficiens est Deus vt vos immaculatos custodiat.

De exaltatione Charitatis.

Si gauifus fum ad ruinam eius qui oderat me, et exaltaui quòd inuenisset eum malum.



Etestatio Iob; amicos redamare, est charitas publicanorum ex sædere vtilitatis, versus inimicos autem bene animatos esse, est ex apicibus iuris Christiani, et imitatio

diuinitatis. Rurfus tamen huius charitatis complures funt gradus, quorum primus est inimicis resipiscentibus ignoscere, ac huius quidem charitatis etiam apud generosas feras vmbra quædam, et imago reperitur; nam et leones in se submittentes, et prosernentes non vlteriùs sævire perhibentur. Secundus gradus est inimicis ignoscere, licit sint duriores, et absque reconciliationum piaculis. Tertius gradus est non tantum veniam, et gratiam inimicis largiri, sed etiam merita, et benesicia in cos conferre. Sed habent hi gradus, aut habere possunt, nescio quid potius ex ostentatione, aut saltem animi magnitudine quàm ex charitate pura. Nam cùm quis virtutem ex se emanare, et essentit, sieri potest vt is esseratur, et potiùs virtutis suæ fructu quàm falute, et bono proximi delectetur. Sed si aliunde malum aliquod inimicum tuum deprehendat, et

amination doth lead, tryed: neyther let any man here feare infection or pollution, for the funne entreth into finkes and is not defiled. Neyther let any man thinke that herein he tempteth God, for this diligence and generality of examination is commanded, and God is fufficient to preferue you immaculate and pure.

Of the exaltation of Charitie.

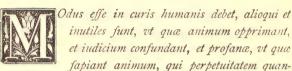
If I have reioyced at the overthrow of him that hated me, or tooke pleafure when adverfity did befall him.

He detestation or renouncing of Iobe. For a man to loue againe where he is loued, it is the Charitie of Publicanes contracted by mutuall profite, and good offices, but to loue a mans enemies is one of the

cunningest pointes of the lawe of Christ, and an imitation of the divine nature. But yet againe of this charitie there be dyners degrees, whereof the first is to pardon our enemies when they repent: of which charitie there is a shadow and image euen in noble beaftes, for of Lyons it is a receyued opinion, that their fury and fierceneffe ceafeth towardes any thing that yeeldeth and proftrateth it felfe. The feconde degree is to pardon our enemies, though they perfift and without fatiffactions and fubmiffions. The thirde degree is not onely to pardon and forgiue and forbeare our enemies, but to deserue well of them, and to do them good. But all thefe three degrees either haue or may have in them a certaine bravery and greatnes of the minde, rather then pure Charity: for when a man perceyueth vertue to proceede and flow from himfelfe, it is possible that he is puffed vp and takes contentment rather in the fruit of his owne vertue, then in the good of his neighbors: but if any euill ouertake the enemie from any other coast, then from thy selfe, and thou in the inwardest motions of thy tu in interioribus cellulis cordis graueris, et angustieris, nec, quasi dies vitionis, et vindictà tua aduenisset, lateris; hoc ego fastigium, et exaltationem charitatis esse pono.

De mensura curarum.

Sufficit diei malitia fua.



dam in rebus mundanis sibi spondeat. Hodierni enim debemus effe ob breuitatem æui, et non crastini, fed vt ille ait, Carpentes diem, Erunt enim futura præfentia vice sua; Quare sufficit sollicitudo præsentium. Neque tamen cura moderata, fine fint aconomica, fine publica, fine rerum mandatarum notantur. Sed hic duplex est exceffus. Primus cum curarum feries in Longitudinem nimiam, et tempora remotiora extendimus, ac si providentiam divinam apparatu nostro ligare possemus, quod femper etiam apud Ethnicos infaustum et insolens suit. Fere enim qui Fortunæ multum tribuerunt, et ad occasiones præfentes alacres, et præsto fuerunt, fælicitate magna vsi funt. Qui autem altum sapientes, omnia curata et meditata habere confisi funt, infortunia subierunt. Secundus exceffus est, cum in curis immoramur diutius quam opus est ad iustam deliberationem, et ad decretum faciendum. Quis enim nostrûm est, qui tantum curet, quantum sufficit, vt fe explicet, vel fefe explicare non posse indicet, et

hart beeft grieued and compassionate and doest no waies insult as if thy dayes of right and reuenge were at the last come. This I interprete to be the height and exaltation of Charity.

Of the moderation of cares.

Sufficient for the day is the euill thereof.



Here ought to bee a m[e]an fure in worldly cares otherwise they are both vnprofitable, as those which oppresse the mind and assonish the iudgement, and prophane as those which sauour of a mind which pro-

mifeth to it felfe a certain perpetuity in the things of this world: for we ought to be daies-men, and not to morrowes men, confidering the shortnesse of our time, and as he faith: Laying hold on the prefent day: for future thinges shall in their turnes become prefent: therefore the care of the prefent fufficeth; and vet moderate cares (whether they concerne our particular or the common wealth, or our friends) are not blamed. But herein is a twofold exceffe, the one when the chaine or thread of our cares extended and founne out to an ouer great length, and vnto times too farre off, as if we could bind the divine providence by our prouisions, which even with the heathen was alwaies found to be a thing infolent and vnluckie, for those which did attribute much to fortune, and were ready and at hand to apprehende with alacritie the prefent occafions, have for the most part in their actions beene happie. But they who in a compaffe wifedome haue entred into a confidence that they had belayed all euents, haue for the most parte encountred miffortune. The fecond excesse is, when we dwel longer in our cares then is requifite for due deliberating or firme refoluing: for who is there amongst vs that careth no more then sufficeth eyther to resolue of a course, or to conclude vpon an non eadem sæpe retractet, et in eodem cogitationum circuitu inutiliter hæreat, et denique euanescat? Quod genus curarum, et diuinis et humanis rationibus aduersissimum est.

De Spe terrestri.

Melior est oculorum visio, quàm animi progressio.

Enfus purus in singula meliorem reddit conditionem, et politiam mentis, quàm ista imaginationes et progressiones animi. Natura enim animi humani etiam in in-

genijs gravifsimis est, vt á fenfu singulorum statim progrediatur, et faliat, et omnia auguretur fore talia, quale illud est quod præfentem sensum incutit, si boni est fenfus facilis est ad spem indefinitam, si mali est sensus, ad metum: vnde illud, Fallitur augurio spes bona sæpe fuo, et contra illud, Pessimus in dubijs augur. Sed tamen timoris est aliquis fructus, præparat enim tolerantium, et acuit industriam; Non vlla laborum ô virgo noua mî facies inopauè furgit. Omnia præcepi, atque animo mecum ante peregi. Spes vero inutile quiddam videtur. Quorsum enim ista anticipatio boni? Attende, fi minus eucniat bonum quam speres, bonum licet sit, tamen quia minùs sit, videtur damnum potiùs quam lucrum ob excessium spei. Si par et tantum sit, et cuentus sit spei æqualis, tamen flos boni per spem decerpitur, et videtur ferè obfoletum, et fastidio magis finitimum. Si maior sit successus spe, videtur atiquid impossibilitie, and doth not still chewe ouer the same thinges, and treade a mace in the same thoughtes, and vanisheth in them without iffue or conclusion, which kind of cares are most contrary to all divine and humane respects.

Of earthly hope.

Better is the fight of the eye, then the apprehension of the mind.



Vre fence receiving every thing acording to the naturall impression makes a better state and government of the mind then these same imaginations and apprehensions of the mind: for the minde of man

hath this nature and propertie, euen in the grauest and most fetled wits, that from the sence of euery particular, it doeth as it were bound and spring forward, and take holde of other matters foretelling to it felf that all shall proue like vnto that which beateth vpon the present sence: if the sence be of good, it easily runnes into an vnlimited hope, and into a like seare, when the sence is of euill, according as is said:

The oracles of hopes doth oft abufe.

And that contrary,

A frowarde fouthfayer is feare in doubts.

But yet of feare there may bee made some vse, for it prepareth patience, and awaketh industry.

No shape of ill comes new or strange to me. All forts fet downe, yea and prepared be

But hope feemeth a thing altogether vnprofitable, for to what ende ferueth this conceit of good. Confider and note a little if the good fall out leffe then thou hopeft, good though it bee, yet leffe because it is, it teemeth rather losse then benefite through thy excesse of hope: if the good proue equal and proportionable in euent to thy hope, yet the flower thereof

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lucri factum, verum est; sed annon melius fuisset sortem lucrifeciffe nihil sperando quam vsuram minus sperando? Atque in rebus fecundis ita operatur spes; in malis autem robur verum animi foluit. Nam neque femper spei materia suppetit, et destitutione aliqua vel minima spei, vniuerfa fere firmitudo animi corruit, et minorem efficit dignitatem mentis, cum mala tolleramus alienatione quadam, et errore mentis, non fortitudine et iudicio. Quare fatis leuiter finxère Poetæ spem antidotum humanorum morborum effe, quòd dolores eorum mitiget, cùm fit reuera incenfio potiùs, et exasperatio, quæ eos multiplicari, et recrudescere faciat. Nihilominus fit, vt plærique hominum imaginationibus spei et progressionibus istis mentis omnind se dedant, ingratique in præterita obliti ferè præfentium femper iuuenes, tantum futuris immineant. Vidi vniuerfos ambulantes fub fole cum adolescente secundo, qui confurget post eum; quod pessimus morbus est, et status mentis infanissimus. Quæras fortaffe annon melius sit, cum res in dubia expectatione positæ sint, bene divinare, et potiùs sperare qu'am dissidere, cum spes maiorem tranquillitatem animi conciliet. Ego fane in omni mora, et expectatione tranquillum, et non fluctuantem animi statum ex bona mentis politia, et compositione, summum humanæ vitæ firmamentum iudico. Sed eam tranquillitatem, quæ ex spe pendeat, vt leuem et insirmam recufo. Non quia non conueniat tam bona quàm male.

by thy hope is gathered, fo as when it comes, the grace of it is gone, and it feemes vsed and therefore fooner draweth on faciety: admit thy fuccesse proue better then thy hope, it is true gaine feemes to bee made: but had it not beene better to have gayned the principall by hoping for nothing then the encrease by hoping for leffe. And this is the operation of Hope in good fortunes, but in miffortunes it weakeneth all force and vigor of the mind: for neither is there alwaies matter of hope, and if there be, yet if it faile but in part, it doth wholly ouerthrow the constancie and resolution of the mind, and besides though it doeth carry vs through, yet is it a greater dignitie of mind to beare euilles by fortitude and judgement, then by a kind of abfenting and alienation of the mind from thinges prefent to thinges future, for that it is to hope. And therefore it was much lightnesse in the Poets to faine Hope to bee as a counterpoylon of humaine deceases, as to mittigate and asswage the fury and anger of them, whereas in deede it doth kindle and enrage them, and caufeth both doubling of them and relapfes. Notwithstanding we fee that the greatest number of men give themselves over to their imaginations of hope and apprehensions of the mind, in such fort that vngratefull towards thinges past, and in a manner vnmindfull of things prefent, as if they were euer children and beginners, they are still in longing for things to come. I faw all men walking under the funne refort and gather to the fecond person, which was afterwardes to succeede. this is an euill difease and a great idlenesse of the mind.

But perhaps you will aske the question, whether it be not better when thinges stand in doubtfull termes, to presume the best, and rather hope wel then distrust, specially seeing that hope doeth cause a greater tran-

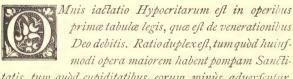
quillitie of minde.

Surely I doe iudge a flate of minde, which in all doubtfull expectations is fetled and floteth not, and doeth this out of a good gouernment and composition of the affections, to be one of the principall supports

ex fana et fobria coniectura præuidere, et præfupponere, vt actiones ad probabilitatem euentuum magis accommodemus; modò sit hoc officium intellectus ac iudicij cum iusta inclinatione affectus. Sed quem ita spes coercuit; vt cùm ex vigilanti et sirmo mentis discursu meliora, vt magis probabilia sibi prædixerit, non in ipsa boni anticipatione immoratus sit, et huiusmodi cogitationi, vt somnio placido indulserit? Atque hoc est quod reddit animum leuem, tumidum, inæqualem, peregrinantem. Quare omnis spes in suturam vitam cælestem consumenda est. Hic autem quanto purior sit præsentium sensus absque insectione, et tinctura imaginationis, tanto prudentior et melior anima vitæ summæ breuis spem nos vetat meliorare longam.

De Hypocritis.

Misericordiam volo, et non Sacrificium.



tatis, tum quòd cupiditatibus corum minùs aduersentur. Itaque redargutio hypocritarum est, vt ab operibus facrisicij remittantur ad opera misericordiæ, vnde illud, of mans life: But that affurance and repose of the mind, which onely rides at ancor you hope. I do reject as wauering and weake, not that it is not convenient to forefee and presuppose out of a found and sober coniecture as well the good as the euill, that thereby we may fit out actions to the probabilities and likelihoods of their euent, fo that this be a worke of the vnderstanding and judgement with a due bent and inclination of the affection: But which of you hath fo kept his hopes within limites, as when it is fo that you have out of a watchfull and strong discourse of the minde set downe the better fuccesse to bee in apparancy the more likely you have not dwelt vpon the very mufe and forethought of the good to come and giving fcope and favour to your minde to fall into fuch cogitations as into a pleafant dreame: and this it is which makes the mind light. frothy, vnequall and wandring: wherefore all our hope is to bee bestowed vpon the heavenly life to come. But here on earth the purer our fence is from the infection and tincture of imagination, the better and the wifer foule.

The fumme of life to little doth amount, And therefore doth forbidde a longer count.

Of Hipocrites.

I demand mercy and not facrifice.



Il the boafting of the Hipocrite is of the workes of the first table of the law, which is of adoration and dutie towardes God: wherof the reason is double both because such workes have a greater pompe and de-

monftration of holinesse, and also because they do lesse crosses their affections and desires, therefore the way to conuict Hipocrites, is to sende them from the workes of facrisice to the workes of mercy, whence commeth that saying.

Religio munda et immaculata apud Deum et patrem næc est, visitare pupillos et viduas in tribulatione eorum, et illud, Qui non diligit fratrem fuum quem vidit, Deum quem non vidit quomodo potest diligere? Quidam autem altioris et inflatioris Hypocrifiæ feipfos decipientes, et existimantes se arctiore cum Deo conversatione dignos. officia charitatis in proximum vt minora negligunt. Qui error monasticæ vitæ non principium quidem dedit, (nam initia bona fuerunt,) fed exceffum addidit. Recte enim dictum est, Orandi munus magnum esse munus in ecclesia, et ex vfu ecclesiæ est, vt sint cætus hominum å mundanis curis foluti, qui afsiduis et deuotis precibus Deum pro ecclesiæ statu sollicitent. Sed huic ordinationi illa hypocrifia finitima est, nec vniuerfa institutio reprobatur, sed spiritus illi se efferentes cohibentur: nam et Enoch qui ambulauit cum Deo, prophetizauit, vt est apud Iudam, atque fructum fuæ prophetiæ ecclesiam donauit. Et Iohannes Bapt, quem Principem quidam vitæ monasticæ volunt, multo ministerio functus est tum prophetizationis, tum Baptizationis. Nam ad alios istos in deum officiosos refertur illa interrogatio, Si iuste egeris, quid donabis Deo, aut quid de manu tua accipiet. Quare opera miserecordiæ sunt opera discretionis hypocritarum. Contra autem fit cum hæreticis, nam vt hypocritæ fimulata fua fanctitate verfus Deum, iniurias fuas verfus homines obducunt; ita hæretici moralitate quadam verfus homines, blasphemias suas contra Deum insinuant.

This is pure and imaculate religion with God the father, to visite Orphanes and widowes in their tribulations. And that faying: He that loueth not his brother whome he hath feene, how can hee love God whom hee

hath not feene.

Now there is another kind of deeper and more extrauagant hipocrifie, for fome deceiuing themselues, and thinking themselues worthy of a more neere accesse and conversation with God do neglect the duties of charity towards their neighbour, as inferior matters, which did not in deede cause originally the beginning of a monastical life (for the beginnings were good) but brought in that excesse and abuse which are followed after: for it is truly faid, That the office of praying is a great office in the Church. And it is for the good of the Church, that there bee conforts of men freed from the cares of this world, who may with dayly and deuout fupplications and observances solicite the divine maiestie. for the causes of the Church. But vnto this ordinance that other Hipocrifie is a nigh neyghbour, neyther is the generall inflitution to be blamed, but those spirites which exalt themselues too high to berefrained: for euen *Enoch*, which was faide to walke with God, did prophefie. as is deliuered vnto us by Iude, and did indowe the Church with the fruite of his prophelie which heeleft: and Iohn Baptist vnto whom they didreferre as to the authour of a monasticall life, trauailed and exercised much in the ministerie both of prophesie and baptizing, for as to these others who are so officious towards God, to them belongeth that question: If thou do justly what is that to God, or what profite doeth he take by thy handes? wherefore the workes of mercy are they which are the workes of distinction, whereby to find out Hypocrites. But with Heretikes it is contrary, for as Hipocrites with their diffembling holinesse towards God doe palliate and couer their injuries towardes men: So Heretikes by their moralitie and honest carriage towardes men infinuate and make way for their blasphemies against God.

De Empostoribus.

Siue mente excedimus Deo, fiue fobrii fumus vobis.



Era est ista estigies, et verum temperamentum viri, cui Religio penitùs in præcordijs insedit, et viri operarij Dei. Conuersatio ei qua cum Deo est, plena excessus, et zeli, et extasis.

Hinc gemitus ineffabiles, et exultationes, et raptus spiritus, et agones. At quæ cum hominibus est, plena mansuetudinis, et sobrietatis, et morigerationis; Hinc Omnia omnibus sactus sum, et huiusmodi. Contra sit in hypocritis et impostoribus: Ii enim in populo et ecclesia incendunt se et excedunt, et veluti sacris suroribus assistati omnia miscent. Si quis autem eorum solitudines, et separatas meditationes, et cum Deo conversationes introspiciat, deprehendet eas non tantum frigidas, et sine motu, sed plenas malitiæ et sermenti, sobrij Deo, mente excedentis populo.

De generibus imposturæ.

Deuita prophanas vocum nouitates, et oppositiones falsi nominis scientiae.

Ineptas et aniles fabulas deuita.

Nemo vos decipiat in fublimitate fermonum.



Res funt fermones, et veluti slili imposture.
Primum genus est eorum qui statim vt aliquam materiam nacti sunt, artem consicuut, vocabula artis imponunt, omnia in

Of Empostors.

Whether we be transported in mind it is to Godward. Or whether we be fober it is to youwardes.



His is the true image and true temper of a man, and of him that is Gods faithfull workeman, his carriage and conuerfation towards God is full of paffion, of zeale, and of tramiffes, thence proceed grones

vnfpeakeable, and exultinges, likewife in comfort, rauishment of spirit and agonies. But contrariwise his cariage and conuersation towards men is sull of mildnesse, sobrietie, and appliable demeanor. Hence is that saying, I am become all things to all men, and such like. Contrary it is with Hipocrites and Imposters, for they in the church and before the people set themselues on fire, and are caried as it were out of themselues, and becomming as men inspired with holy suries, they set heaven and earth together: but if a man did see their solitarie and separate meditations, and conversation whereunto God is onely privy, he might towards God find them not onely cold and without vertue, but also full of ill nature, and leaven: Sober enough to God, and transported onely towards men.

Of the senerall kinds of Emposture.

Anoid prophane strangenes of wordes and oppositions of knowledge, falfely so called.

Anoid sond and idle sables:

Let no man deceive you by high speech:



Here are three formes of fpeaking, which are as it were the stile and phrase of imposture: the first kind is of them, who as foone as they have gotten any subject or matter, doe straight cast it into an arte,

ex quæstionibus, et responsionibus oppositiones consiciunt; Hinc Scholasticorum quisquiliæ et turbæ. Secundum genus est eorum, qui vanitate ingenij, vt sacri quidem Poetæ, omnem exemplorum varietatem ad mentes hominum tractandas consingunt, vnde vitæ patrum, et antiquorum hæreticorum sigmenta innumera. Tertium genus eorum, qui mysterijs, et grandiloquijs, allegorijs, et allusionibus omnia implet: quod genus mysticum et gnosticum complures hæretici sibi delegerunt. Primum genus fensum et captum hominis illaqueat, secundum allicit, tertium stupesacit, seducunt vero omnia.

De Atheismo.

Dixit infipiens in corde fuo; non est Deus.



Rimum dixit in corde, non ait, cogitauit in corde; hoc est, non tam ita sentit penitiks.

fed vult hoc credere, quoniam expedire sibi

videt, vt non sit Deus omni ratione sibi hoc fuadare, et in animum inducere conatur; et tanquàm thema aliquod, vel positum, vel placitum asserere, et astruere, et sirmare studet. Manet tamen ille igniculus luminis primi, quo Diuinitatem agnoscimus, quem prorsus extinguere, et stimulum illum ex corde euellere frustrà nititur. Quare inuenting newe tearmes of art, reducing all into diuifions and diffinctions, thence drawing affertions or positions, and so framing oppositions by questions and answeres, hence issueth the copwebbes and clatterings of the Schoolemen.

The feconde kinde is of them who out of the vanity of their wit (as Church poets) doe make and deuife all variety of tales, flories, and examples, whereby they may leade mens mindes to a beliefe, from whence did growe the Legendes and infinite fabulous inventions

and dreames of the ancient heretikes.

The third kinde is of them, who fill mens ears with mifteries, high parables, Allegories, and illufions: which mifticall and profound forme many of the hereticks haue also made choyce of. By the first kind of these, the capacitie and wit of man is settered and entangled: by the seconde it is trayned on and inueigled: by the thirde it is assonished and enchanted, but by euery of them the while it is seduced and abused.

Of Atheisme.

The foole hath faid in his heart there is no God.



Irft it is to be noted that the Scripture faith, the foole hath faid in his heart, and not he hath thought in his heart, that is to fay, he doth not fo fully thinke it in judgement, as he hath a good will to bee of

that beliefe, for feeing it makes not for him that there fhoulde bee a God, he doeth feeke by all meanes accordingly, to perfuade and refolue himfelfe, and fludies to affirme, proue and verifie it to himfelfe as fome theame or position, al which labor, notwithstanding that sparkle of our creation light, whereby men acknowledge a Deitie, burneth still within, and in vayne doth he striue vtterly to alienate it or put it out, so that it is out of the corruption of his heart and will, and not out of the natural apprehension of his braine and con-

ex malitia voluntatis fuæ, et non ex nativo fenfu, et iudicio hoc supponit, vt ait comicus Poeta. Tunc animus meus accessit ad meam sententiam, quasi ipse alter effet ab animo fuo. Itaque Atheista magis dixit in corde, quam fentit in corde, quod non fit Deus. Secundo, dixit in corde, non ore locutus est, sed notandum est hoc metu legis et famæ fieri, Nam vt ait ille, Negare Deos difficile est in concione populi, sed in concessu familiari expeditum. Nam si hoc vinculum tollatur ê medio, non est hæresis quæ maiore studio se pandere, et spargere, et multiplicare nitatur quam Atheifmus. Nec videas eos qui in hanc mentis infaniam immersi funt, aliud ferè spirare, et importunè inculcare, quam verba atheismi, vt in Lucretio Epicureo, qui ferè fuam in Religionem inuectivam singulis alijs subiectis intercalarem facit. Ratio videtur effe, quod Atheista cum sibi non fatis acquiescut æstuans, nec sibi satisferedens, et crebra suæ opinionis deliquia in interioribus patiens ab aliorum affenfu refocillari cupit. Nam recte diclum est. Qui alteri opinionem approbare fedulò cupit, ipfe diffidit. Tertiò infipiens est, qui hoc in corde dixit, quod verissimum est, non tantum quòd divina non fapiat, fed etiam fecundum hominem. Primo enim ingenia, quæ funt in Atheismum proniora, videas ferè leuia, et dicacia, et audacula, et infolentia: eius denique compositionis, quæ prudentiæ, et gravitati morum adversifsima est. Secundò inter viros politicos, qui altioris ingenij et latioris cordis fuerunt,

ceit, that he doth fet downe his opinion, as the comicall Poet faith: Then came my mind to bee of mine opinion, as if himfelfe and his mind had beene two divers things: Therefore the Atheist hath rather faide and helde it in his heart, then thought or believed in his heart that there is no God. Secondly it is to be obferued, that hee hath faid in his heart, and not spoken it with his mouth. But again you shall note, that this fmothering of this perswasion within the hart commeth to passe for feare of government and of speech amongst men: for as he faith, To deny God in a publike argument were much, but in a familiar conference were currant enough. For if this bridle were remoued, there is no herefie which would contende more to fpread and multiply, and diffeminate it felf abroad then atheisme, neither shall you fee those men which are drencht in this frensie of minde to breath almost any thing els, or to inculcate euen without occasion, any thing more then fpeech tending to Atheisme, as may appeare in Lucrefias the Epicure, who makes of his inuectives against religion, as it were a burthen or verse of returne to all his other discourses: the reason feemes to bee, for that the Atheist not relying fufficiently upon him felf, floting in mind, and unfatiffied and induring within many faintings, and as it were fals of his opinion, defires by other mens opinions agreeing with his to be recourred and brought againe for it is a true faying:

Who fo laboureth earnestly to prove an opinion to an

other, himfelfe distrusts it.

Thirdly, it is a foole that hath fo faide in his heart, which is most true, not onely in respect that he hath no taste in those thinges which are supernaturall and diuine: but in respect of humane and civile wisedome: for first of all, if you marke the wits and dispositions which are inclyned to Atheisme, you shall finde them light, scoffing, impudent, and vayne: briefly, of such a constitution, as is most contrarie to wisedome and morall gravitie. Secondly, amongst states men and

Religionem non arte quadam ad populum adhibuerunt. fed interiore dogmate coluêre, vt qui prouidentiæ et fortunæ plurimum tribuerint. Contra qui artibus fuis, et industrijs, et causis proximis, et apparentibus omnia ascripserunt, et vt ait Propheta, Retibus suis immolarunt, pusilli suerunt politici, et circumforanei, et magnitudinis actionum in capaces. Tertiò, in physicis et illud assirmo parùm Philosophiæ naturalis, et in ca progressum liminarem ad Atheismum opiniones inclinare. Contra multùm Philosophiæ naturalis, et progressum in ea penetrantem ad Religionem animos circumserre. Quare atheismus stultitiæ et inscitiæ vbique conuictus esse videtur, vt meritò sit dictum, Insipientium non est Deus.

Be Haresibus.

Erratis nescientes scripturas, neque potestatem Dei.

Anon iste mater omnium canonum adversus

hærefes. Duplex erroris causa, ignoratio voluntatis Dei, et ignoratio, vel leuior contemplatio potestatis dei. Voluntas dei reuelatur magis per scripturas scrutamini, potestas magis per creaturas contemplamini. Ita afferenda plenitudo potestatis Dei, ne maculemus voluntatem. Ita afferenda bonitas voluntates

politikes, those which have been of greatest depths, and compasse, and of largest and most vniuerfall vnderflanding, haue not onely in cunning made their profit in feeming religious to the people, but in truth haue beene toucht with an inwarde fence of the knowledge of Dyetie, as they which you shall euermore note to haue attributed much to fortune and prouidence.

Contrariwife, those who ascribed all thinges to their owne cunninges and practifes, and to the immediate and apparent causes: and as the Prophet saith, haue facrificed to their owne nets, have beene alwaies but petty counterfait states men, and not capable of the greatest actions. Lastly, this I dare affirme in knowledge of nature, that a little naturall philosophie: and the first entrance into it doth dispose the opinion to Atheifme: But on the other fide much naturall philofophie, and wading deepe into it, will bring about mens mindes to religion: wherefore Atheifme euery way feems to be joined and combined with folly and ignorance, fee that nothing can bee more juftly allotted to be the faving of fooles then this, there is no God.

Of Meresies.

You erre not knowing the Scriptures nor the power of God.

His Cannon is the mother of al Canons against Heresie: The causes of errour are two: the ignorance of the wil of God, and the ignorance or not fufficient confideration of his power, the will of God is

more reuealed by the Scriptures, and therefore the precepte is, Search the Scriptures: the will [? power] of God is more reuealed by the creatures, and therefore the precept is: Beholde and confider the creatures: So is the fulnesse of the power of God to bee affirmed.

tatis, ne minuamus potestatem. Itaque Religio vera sita est in mediocritate inter superstitionem cum hæresibus fuperstissios ex una parte, et Atheismum cum hæresibus prophanis ex altera. Superstitio repudiata luce scripturarum, feque dedens traditionibus prauis vel apocryphis, et nouis revelationibus, vel falsis interpretationibus scripturarum multa de voluntate Dei fingit, et fomniat, á fcripturis devia et aliena. Atheifmus autem et Theomachia contra potestatem Dei infurgit, et tumultuatur, verbo dei non credens, quod voluntatem eius reuelat ob incredulitatem potestatis eius, cui omnia funt possibilia. Hærefes autem quæ ex isto fonte emanant, graviores videntur cæteris. Nam et in politijs atrocius est potestatem et maiestatem Dei minuere, quam famam principis notare. Hæresium autem quæ potestatem Dei minunt, præter Atheifmum purum tres funt gradus, habentque vnum et idem mysterium: (Nam omnis antichristianifmus operatur in mysterio, id est sub imagine boni) hoc ipfum, vt voluntatem dei ab omni afperfione malitiæ liberet. Primus gradus est eorum, qui duo principia constituunt paria, ac inter fe pugnantia, et contraria, vnum boni, alterum mali. Secundus gradus est eorum, quibus nimiùm læfa videtur maiestas Dei in constituendo aduersus eum principio affirmativo et activo. Quare exturbata tali audacia, nihilo minùs inducunt contra deum principium negatiuum et prinatiuum. Nam volunt effe opus ipsius materiæ et creaturæ internum, et as wee make no imputation to his will, fo is the goodnesse of the will of God to be affirmed, as we make no derogation from his power: Therefore true religion feated in the meane betwixt Superstition, with fuperflitious herefies on the one fide, and Atheisme, with prophane herefies on the other: Superstition rejecting the light of the scriptures, and giving of it felf ouer to vngrounded traditions and writinges doubtfull and not Canonicall, or to newe reuelations, or to vntrue interpretations of the Scriptures themfelues doth forge and dreame many thinges of the vvill of God, which are strange and farre distant from the true fence of the fcriptures: But Atheisme and Theomachie rebelleth and mutineth against the power of God, giuing no faith to his worde, which reuealeth his will, vpon a discredit and vnbeliefe of his power, to whom all thinges are possible. Now those herefies which fpring out of this fountain feeme more havnous then the other: for even in civile government it is held an offence in a higher degree to deny the power and authority of a prince, then to touch his honour and fame. Of these heresies which derogate from the power of God beside plain atheisme, there are three degrees, and they have all one and the fame miftery: for all Antichristianity worketh in a misterie, that is, vnder the shadow of good, and it is this to free and deliuer the will of God from all imputation and asperfion of ill. The first degree is of those who make and suppose two principles contrary and fighting one against the other, the one of good, the other of euill.

The fecond degree is of them to whome the Maiestie of God feemes too much wronged in fetting vppe and erecting against him another aduerse and opposite principle, namely such a principle as should bee active and affirmative, that is to say, cause or sountaine of any essence or being: therefore rejecting all such prefumption they doe neverthelesse bring in against God: a principle negative and privative, that is a cause of

natiuum, et fubstantiuum, vt ex fe vergat et relabatur ad confusionem, et ad nihilum, nescientes eiusdem esse omnipotentiæ ex aliquo nihil facere, cuius ex nihilo aliquid. Tertius gradus est eorum, qui arclant et restringunt opinionem, priorem tantum ad actiones humanas, quæ participant ex peccato, quas volunt substantiue, absque nexu aliquo caufarum, ex interna voluntate et arbitrio humano pendere, statuuntque latiores terminos scientice Dei, quam potestatis, vel potius eius partis potestatis Dei, (nam et ipsa scientia potestas est) qua scit quam eius, quâ mouet, et agit, vt præsciat quædam otiose, quæ non prædeslinet et præordinet. Et non absimile est figmento, quod Epicurus introduxit in Democritismum, vt fatum olleret, et fortunæ locum daret, declinationem videlicet atomi, quod femper à prudentioribus inanifsimum commentum habitum eft. Sed quiequid a deo non pendet, et autore, et principio, per nexus et gradus fubordinatos id loco Dei erit, et nouum principium, et Deaster quidem. Quare meritò illa opinio respuitur, vt læsio et diminutio maiestatis et potestatis Dei. Et tamen admodum recti dicitur, quod Deus non fit author mali, non quia non author, fed quia non mali.

not being and fubfifting, for they will have it to be an inbred proper worke, and nature of the matter and creature it felfe, of it felfe to turne aganie and refolue into confusion and nothing, not knowing that it is an effect of one and the same omnipotencie, to make nothing of fomewhat, as to make fomewhat of no-The third degree is of those, who abridge and restraine the former opinion onely to those humane actions which pertake of finne: which actions, they will have to depende substantiuely and originally, and without any fequele or fubordination of causes vpon the will, and make and fet downe and appoint larger limites of the knowledge of God then of his power. or rather of that parte of Gods power (for knowledge it felfe is a power whereby he knoweth) then of that by which hee moueth and worketh, making him foreknow fome thinges idlie and as a looker on, which hee doeth not predestinate nor ordayne: Not vnlike to that deuise which Epicurus brought into Democritus opinion, to take away destinie and make way to Fortune, to witte, the flart and flippe of Attemus, which alwaies of the wifer fort was rejected as a most friuolous shift. But whatsoeuer depends not of God. as Author and Principle by inferiour linkes and degrees, that must needes bee in place of God, and a new principle, and a certaine vfurping God: wherefore worthely is that opinion refused as an indignitie and derogation to the maiestie and power of God, and vet it is most truely affirmed, that God is not the author of euill, not because he is not author, but because not as of enill.

De ecclesia et Scripturis.

Proteges eos in tabernaculo tuo a contradictione linguarum.

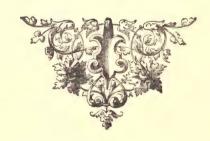


Ontradictiones linguarum voique occurrunt extra tabernaculum Dei. Ouare quocunque te verteris, exitum controuersiarum non reperies nisi huc te receperis. Dices,

verum est, nempe in vnitatem ecclesia. Sed aduerte. Erat in tabernaculo Arca, et in Arca Testimonium vel tabulæ legis. Quid mihi narras corticem Tabernaculi, fine nucleo testimonij? Tabernaculum ad custodiendum et tradendum testimonium erat ordinatum. Eodem modo et ecclesiæ custodia, et traditio per manus scripturarum demandata est, sed anima

Tabernaculi est testimonium.

FINIS.



Of the Church and the Scriptures.

Thou shalt protect them in thy tabernacle, from the contradiction of tongues.



He contradiction of tongues doeth every where meet with vs out of the tabernacle of God, therefore whither foeuer thou shalt turne thy felfe, thou shalt find no ende of controversies, except thou with-

draw thy felfe into that tabernacle, thou wilt fay, t'is true, and that it is to bee vnderstood of the vnitie of the church: But heare and note, there was in the tabernacle the Arke, and in the Arke the testimony or tables of the lawe: what doest thou tell me of the huske of the tabernacle without the kernel of the testimonie. The tabernacle was ordained for the keeping and deliuering ouer from hand to hande of the testimony. In like manner the custodie and pass-

ing ouer of the scriptures is committed vnto the

Church. But the life of the tabernacle is the testimony.

[A PRELIMINARY NOTE TO

THE COLOURS OF GOOD AND EVIL



T would feem that among his early fludies. Bacon was led to enquire into the nature and powers of human Imagination as a means for obtaining knowledge. What flesh and blood are to the Body, what love and friendship are

to the Soul: that is imagination to the Spirit of man. It is a warm, exhilarating, active fource of Thought. By it we can realize perfection, beauty, and felicity never to be feen by mortal eves. It is the creative power in Poetry, Fiction, Painting, and in much of the Fine Arts. It is a comfort to Man; both as an farthly Hope in the midft of his troubles, and as a recreation from the toil of his other faculties.

Imagination as a Guide in the establishing of his New Philofophy. Bacon utterly rejected. Yet it is not to be univerfally put afide. We could not do fo if we would. The intuition of women often outfirips the reason of men in true judgment; and God, who has honoured this faculty as He has done the reft. has taught truth to man through his imagination, in the fublime

visions of the Old and New Testament.

We must think to what an abuse, Imagination had been substituted for Enquiry down to Bacon's time; in confidering this description.

There is yet a much more important and profound kinde of Fallacies in the Minde of Man. . . . The force whereof is such, as it doth not dazle, or snare the vnderstanding in some particulars, but doth more generally, and inwardly infect and corrupt the state thereof. For the mind of Man is farre from the Nature of a cleare and equall glasse, wherein the beames of things should reflect according to their true incidence; Nay, it is rather like an inchanted glasse, full of superstition and Imposture, if it bee not delivered and reduced. Adv. of Learning, ii. fol. 55. Ed. 1605.

Nothing can be ftronger than these Meditations of 1597—

Pare sence receiving every thing according to the naturall impression makes a better state and government of the mind then these same imaginations and apprehensions of the mind: for the minde of man hath this nature and propertie, even in the gravest and most setled wits, that from the sence of euery particular, it doeth as it were bound and spring forward, and take holde of other matters fortelling to it self that all shal proue like vnto that which beateth vpon the present sense.

That assurance and repose of the mind which only rides at ancor vpon

hope. I do reject as wauering and weake.

Here on earth the purer our sence is from the infection and tincture of imagination, the better and wiser soule. See pp. 111-115.

And he fums up his judgement on this faculty in the Apothegm of Heraclitus. Dry Light is the best Soul.

2. Bacon, in the fecond book of The Advancement of Learning also tells us.

The dutie and Office of Rhetoricke is, To apply Reason to Imagination, for the better mooning of the will; For wee see Reason is disturbed in the Administration thereof by three meanes; by Illaqueation [: e. Entanglement], or Sophisme [i.e. Falacy], which pertaines to Logicke: by Imagination or Impression, which pertaines to Rhetoricke, and by Passion or Affiction, which pertaines to Moralitie. And as in Negotiation with others; men are wrought by cunning, by Importunitie, and by vehemencie; So in this Negotiation within our selues, men are vndermined by Inconsequences, sollicited and importuned, by Impressions or Observations; and transported by Passions. Fol. 66. Ed. 1605.

There is a seducement that worketh by the strength of the Impression. and not by the subtiltie of the Illaqueation, not so much perplexing the Reason, as ouer-ruling it by the power of the Imagination. Fol. 55. Ed. 1605.

Colours of Good and Evil are Impressions perplexing and ouer ruling the Reason by the power of the Imagination. Being Good in the cases where they hold true; and Evil where such Impressions are fallacious.

3. Bacon was further of this opinion.

I doe not finde the Wisedome and diligence of Aristotle well poursued, who began to make a collection of the popular signes and colours of good and euil, both simple and comparatine, which are as the Sophismes of Rhetoricke, (as I touched before.) For Example,

SOPHISMA.

[The Sophism.]

Quod l'audatur, bonum; Quod vituperatur, malum.

[What is praised is good: what is abused is bad.]

REDARGVTIO. [The Confutation].

Laudat venales, qui vult extrudere merces.

[He who wishes to sell his goods, praises them.]

Malum est, Malum est (inquit Emptor) sed cum recesserit, tum gloriabitur.

[It is naught, it is naught, sayth the buyer: but when he is gone his way, then he boasteth. PROVERBS XX. 14.]

The defects in the labour of Aristotle are three; One, that there be but a few of many; another, that their Elenches are not annexed; and the third, that he conceived but a part of the vse of them; for their vse is not onely in probation, but much more in Impression. For many fourmes are equall in Signification, which are differing in Impression: as the difference is great in the piercing of that which is sharpe, and that which is flat, though the strength of the percussion be the same. Adv. of Learning. Bk. ii. fol. 68. Ed. 1605.

4. To these three quotations; we can add in surther elucidation of the intention of this fragment, a copy of its dedication while in a manuscript state. We give it in the modernized form given by Mr. Spedding. (*Works.* vii. 70. *Ed.* 1858.)

Mr. Francis Bacon of The Colours of Good and Evil, to the Lord Mountjoye.

I send you the last part of the best book of Aristotle of Stagira, who (as your Lordship knoweth) goeth for the best author. But (saving the civil respect which is due to a received estimation) the man being a Grecian and of a hasty wit, having hardly a discerning patience, much less a teaching patience, both so delivered the matter, as I am glad to do the part of a good househen, which without any strangeness will sit upon pheasants' eggs. And vet perchance some that shall compare my lines with Aristotle's lines, will muse by what art, or rather by what revelation I could draw these conceits out of that place. But I, that should know best, do freely acknowledge that I had my light from him; for where he gave me not matter to perfect, at the least he gave me occasion to invent. Wherein as I do him right, being myself a man that am as free from envying the dead in contemplation, as from envying the living in action or fortune: so yet nevertheless still I say, and I speak it more largely than before, that in perusing the writings of this person so much celebrated, whether it were the impediment of his wit, or that he did it upon glory and affectation to be subtile, as one that if he had seen his own conceits clearly and perspicuously delivered, perhaps would have been out of love with them himself; or else upon policy to keep himself close. as one that had been a challenger of all the world, and had raised infinite contradiction: to what cause soever it is to be ascribed, I do not find him to deliver and unwrap himself well of that he seemeth to conceive, nor to be master of his own knowledge. Neither do I for my part also, (though I have brought in a new manner of handling this argument to make it pleasant and lightsome.) pretend so to have overcome the nature of the subject, but that the full understanding and use of it will be somewhat dark, and best pleasing the tastes of such wits as are patient to stay the digesting and soluting unto themselves of that which is sharp and subtile. Which was the cause, joined with the love and honour which I bear to your Lordship, as the person I know to have many virtues and an excellent order of them, which moved me to dedicate this writing to your Lordship; after the ancient manner, choosing both a friend, and one to whom I conceive the argument was agreeable. The original transcript is Harl. MS. 6797, art. 6.]





OF

The Coulers of good and euill a fragment.





- t CVi ceteræ partes vel fectæ fecundas vnanimiter deferunt, cum fingulæ principatum fibi vindicent melior reliquis videtur. Nam primas quæque ex zelo videtur fumere, fecundas autem ex vero tribuere.
- 2 Cuius excellentia vel exuperantia melior id toto genere melius.
- 3 Quod ad veritatem refertur maius est quàm quod ad opinionem. Modus autem, et probatio eius quod ad opinionem pertinet hæc est. Quod quis si clam putaret fore facturus non esset.
- 4 Quod rem integram feruat bonum quod sine receptu est malum. Nam se recipere non posse impotentia genus est, potentia autem bonum.
- 5 Quod ex pluribus constat, et divisibilius est maius quàm quod ex paucioribus et magis vnum: nam omnia per partes considerata maiora videntur; quare et pluralitas partium magnitudinem præ se sert, fortiùs autem operatur pluralitas partium si ordo absit, nam inducit similitudinem infiniti, et impedit comprehensionem.
- 6 Cuius priuatio bona, malum, cuius priuatio malu bonum.
- 7 Quod bono, vicinum bonum, quod a bono remotum malum.
- 8 Quod quis culpa fua contraxit, maius malum, quod ab externis imponitur minus malum.
- 9 Quod opera, et virtute nostra partum est, maius bonum, quod ab alieno beneficio, vel ab indulgentia fortune delatum est, minus bonum.
- 10 Gradus priuationis maior videtur quàm gradus diminutionis, et rurfus gradus inceptionis maior videtur quàm gradus incrementi.



N deliberatives the point is what is good and what is euill, and of good what is greater, and of euill what is the leffe.

So that the perfwaders labor is to make things appeare good or euill, and that in higher or lower degree, which as it may be perfourmed by true and folide reasons, so it may be represented also by coulers, popularities and circumstances, which are of fuch force, as they fway the ordinarie judgement either of a weake man, or of a wife man, not fully and confiderately attending and pondering the matter. Besides their power to alter the nature of the fubiect in appearance, and fo to leade to error, they are of no lesse vie to quicken and ftrengthen the opinions and perswasions which are true: for reasons plainely deliuered, and alwaies after one manner especially with fine and fastidious mindes, enter but heavily and dully; whereas if they be varyed and haue more life and vigor put into them by thefe fourmes and infinuations, they caufe a stronger apprehenfion, and many times fuddainely win the minde to a resolution. Lastly, to make a true and safe judgement, nothing can be of greater vse and defence to the minde, then the discouering and reprehension of these coulers, shewing in what cases they hold, and in what cases they deceive: which as it cannot be done, but out of a very vniuerfall knowledge of the nature of things, fo being perfourmed, it fo cleareth mans judgement and election, as it is the leffe apt to flide into any error.



A Table of Coulers, or apparances of good and euill, and their degrees as places of perswassion and disswassion; and their seuerall fallaxes, and the elenches of them.

[1] Cui ceteræ partes vel feclæ fecundas vnanimiter deferunt, cum fingulæ principatum fibi vindicent melior reliquis videtur, nam primas quæque ex zelo videtur fumere, fecundas autem ex vero et merito tribuere.



O Cicero went about to proue the Secte of Academiques which furpended all affeueration, for to be the best, for fayth he, aske a Stoicke which Philosophie is true, he will preferre his owne: Then aske him which approcheth next the truth, he will confesse the Academiques. So

deale with the *Epicure* that will fcant indure the *Stoicke* to be in fight of him, as foone as he hath placed him-

felfe, he will place the Academiques next him.

So if a Prince tooke divers competitors to a place, and examined them feuerallie whome next themselves they would rathest commend, it were like the ablest man should have the most second votes.

The fallax of this couler hapneth oft in respect

of enuy, for men are accustomed after themselues and their owne faction to incline to them which are softest and are least in their way in despite and derogation of them that hold them hardest to it. So that this couler of melioritie and preheminence is oft a signe of enervation and weakenesse.

2 Cuius excellentia vel exuperantia melior, id toto genere melius.



Ppertaining to this are the fourmes; Let vs not wander in generalities: Let vs compare particular with particular, etc. This appearance though it feeme of firength at d rather Logicall then Rhetoricall, yet is

very oft a fallax.

Sometimes because some things are in kinde very casuall, which if they escape, proue excellent, so that the kinde is inferior, because it is so subject to perill, but that which is excellent being proued is superior, as the blossome of March and the blossome of May, whereof the French verse goeth.

Bourgeon de Mars enfant de Paris, Si vn efchape, il en vaut dix.

So that the bloffome of May is generally better then the bloffome of March; and yet the best bloffome of March is better then the best bloffome of May.

Sometimes, because the nature of some kindes is to be more equall and more indifferent, and not to have very distant degrees, as hath bene noted in the warmer clymates, the people are generally more wise, but in the Northerne climate the wits of chiefe are greater. So in many Armies, if the matter should be tryed by duell betweene two Champions, the victory should go on one side, and yet if it be tryed by the grosse, it would go of the other side; for excellencies go as it were by chance, but kindes go by a more certaine nature, as by discipline in warre.

Laflly, many kindes have much refuse which counteruale that which they have excellent; and therefore generally mettall is more precious then stone, and yet a dyamond is more precious then gould.

3 Ouod ad veritatem refertur maius est quam quod ad opinionem. Modus autem et probatio eius quod ad opinionem pertinet, hæc est, quod quis si clam putaret fore, facturus non effet.



O the Epicures fay of the Stoicks felicitie placed in vertue, That it is like the felicitie of a Player, who if he were left of his Auditorie and their applause, he would ftreight be out of hart and countenance,

and therefore they call vertue Bonum theatrale. of Riches the Poet fayth:

> Populus me sibilat, At mihi vlaudo.

And of pleafure.

Grata fub imo Gaudia corde premens, vultu simulate budorem.

The fallax of this couler is fomewhat fubtile, though the aunswere to the example be readie, for vertue is not chosen propter auram popularem. But contrariwife, Maxime omnium teipfum reuerere, So as a vertuous man will be vertuous in folitudine, and not onely in theatro, though percase it will be more strong by glory and fame, as an heate which is doubled by reflexion; But that denieth the supposition, it doth not reprehend the fallax whereof the reprehension is a low [Alow], that vertue (fuch as is joyned with labor and conflict) would not be chosen but for fame and opinion, yet it followeth not that the chiefe motive of the election should not be reall and for it felfe, for fame may be onely caufa impulfiua, and not caufa constituens, or efficiens. As if there were two horses, and the one would doo better

without the fourre then the other: but agayne, the other with the fourre would farre exceede the doing of the former, giving him the fpurre also, yet the latter will be judged to be the better horfe, and the fourme as to fay, Tush, the life of this horse is but in the fourre, will not ferue as to a wife judgemente: For fince the ordinary instrument of horsemanship is the fourre, and that it is no manner of impediment nor burden, the horse is not to bee accounted the lesse of. which will not do well without the fourre, but rather the other is to be reckoned a delicacie then a vertue, fo glory and honor are as fourres to vertue: and although vertue would languish without them, yet fince they be alwayes at hand to attend vertue, vertue is not to be fayd the leffe, chofen for it felfe, because it needeth the fourre of fame and reputation: and therefore that position, Nota eius rei quod propter opinionem et non propter veritatem eligitur, hæc est quod quis fi clam putaret fore facturus non effet is reprehended.

4 Quod rem integram feruat bonum, quod fine receptu est malum. Nam se recipere non posse impotentive genus est, potentia autem bonum.



Ereof Aefope framed the Fable of the two drowth (when many plashes that they had repayred to were dry) what was to be done, and the one propounded to goe

downe into a deepe Well, because it was like the water would not fayle there, but the other aunswered, yea but if it do faile how shall we get vp againe? And the reason is, that humane actions are so vncertayne and fubiecte to perills, as that feemeth the best course which hath most passages out of it.

Appertaining to this perswasion the fourmes are, you shall ingage your felfe. On the other fide, Tantum quantum voles fumes ex fortuna, you shall keepe the matter in your owne hands. The reprehension of it is, That proceeding and refoluing in all actions is neceffarie: for as he fayth well, Not to refolue, is to refolue, and many times it breedes as many necessities, and ingageth as farre in some other fort as to resolue.

So it is but the couetous mans difease translated into power, for the couetous man will enioy nothing because he will have his full store and possibilitie to enioy the more, so by this reason a man shoulde execute nothing because hee should be still indifferent and at libertie to execute any thing. Besides necessitie and this same iasta est alea hath many times an advantage, because it awaketh the powers of the minde, and strengtheneth indeuor. Casteris pares necessitate certe superiores estis.

5 Quod ex pluribus conflat et divisibilius est maius quam quod ex paucioribus et magis vnum: nam omnia per partes considerata maiora videntur; quare et pluralitas partium magnitudinem præ se fert; fortius autem operatur pluralitas partium si ordo absit, nam inducit similitudinem insiniti et impedit comprehensionem.



His couler feemeth palpable, for it is not pluralitie of partes without maioritie of partes that maketh the totall greater, yet neuertheleffe it often carries the minde away, yea, it deceyueth the fence, as it

feemeth to the eye a shorter distance of way if it be all dead and continued, then if it haue trees or buildings or any other markes whereby the eye may deuide it. So when a great moneyed man hath deuided his chess and coines and bags, hee seemeth to himselfe richer then hee was, and therefore a way to amplifie any thing, is to breake it, and to make an anatomie of it in seuerall partes, and to examine it according to seuerall circumstances, And this maketh the greater shew if it be done without order, for confusion maketh

things muster more, and besides what is set downe by order and diuision, doth demonstrate that nothing is left out or omitted, but all is there; whereas if it be without order, both the minde comprehendeth lesse that which is set downe, and besides it leaueth a sufpition, as if more might be sayde then is expressed.

This couler deceyueth, if the minde of him that is to be perfwaded, do of it felfe ouer-conceiue or prejudge of the greatnesse of any thing, for then the breaking of it will make it feeme leffe, because it maketh it appeare more according to the truth, and therefore if a man be in ficknes or payne, the time will feeme longer without a clocke or howre-glaffe then with it, for the minde doth value euery moment, and then the howre doth rather fumme vp the moments then deuide the daye. So in a dead playne, the way feemeth the longer, because the eye hath preconceyued it shorter then the truth: and the frustrating of that maketh it feeme longer then the truth. Therefore if any man haue an ouergreat opinion of any thing, then if any other thinke by breaking it into feuerall confiderations, he shall make it feeme greater to him, he will be deceyued, and therefore in fuch cases it is not safe to deuide, but to extoll the entire ftill in generall.

An other case wherein this couler deceyueth, is, when the matter broken or deuided is not comprehended by the sence or minde at once in respect of the distracting or scattering of it, and being intire and not deuided, is comprehended, as a hundred poundes in heapes of fiue poundes will shewe more, then in one grosse heape, so as the heapes be all vppon one table to be seene at once, otherwise not, or slowers growing scattered in diuers beds will shewe more then if they did grow in one bed, so as all those beds be within a plot that they be object to view at once, otherwise not: and therefore men whose liuing lieth together in one Shire, are commonly counted greater landed then those whose liuings are dispersed

though it be more, because the notice and comprehension.

A third cafe wherein this couler deceiueth, and it is not fo properly a cafe or reprehension as it is a counter couler being in effect as large as the couler it felfe, and that is, Omnis compositio indigentia cuiusdam videtur effe particeps, because if one thing would ferue the turne it were euer best, but the desect and imperfections of things hath brought in that help to piece them vp as it is fayd, Martha Martha attendis ad plurima, vnum fufficit. So likewise hereupon Aesope framed the Fable of the Fox and the Cat, whereas the Fox bragged what a number of shifts and deuises he had to get from the houndes, and the Catte faide the had but one, which was to clime a tree, which in proofe was better worth then all the rest, whereof the prouerbe grew, Multa nouit Vulpes fed Felis vnum magnum. And in the morall of this fable it comes likewife to passe: That a good sure friend is a better helpe at a pinch, then all the stratagems and pollicies of a mans owne wit. So it falleth out to bee a common errour in negociating, whereas men haue many reasons to induce or persuade, they striue commonly to vtter and vfe them all at once, which weakeneth them. For it argueth as was faid, a needines in euery of the reasons by it selfe, as if one did not trust to any of them, but fled from one to another, helping himfelfe onely with that. Et quæ non profunt singula multa inuant. Indeed in a fet speech in an assemblie it is expected a man shoulde vse all his reasons in the case hee handleth, but in private perswasions it is alwayes a great errour.

A fourth case wherein this colour may be reprehended is in respecte of that same vis vnita fortior, according to the tale of the French King, that when the Emperours Amb[assador] had recited his maysters stile at large which consistent of many countries and dominions: the French King willed his Chancellor or other minister to repeate and say ouer Fraunce as many

times as the other had recited the feuerall dominions, intending it was equivalent with them all, and beside

more compacted and vnited.

There is also appertaying to this couler an other point, why breaking of a thing doth helpe it, not by way of adding a shew of magnitude vnto it, but a note of excellency and raritie; whereof the fourmes are, Where shall you finde such a concurrence? Great but not compleat, for it seems a lesse worke of nature or fortune to make any thing in his kinde greater then ordinarie, then to make a straunge composition.

Yet if it bee narrowly confidered, this coulour will bee reprehended or incountred by imputing to all excellencie in compositions a kind of pouertie or at least a casualty or ieopardy, for from that which is excellent in greatnes somewhat may be taken, or there may be decay; and yet sufficiencie left, but from that which hath his price in composition if you take away any

thing, or any part doe fayle all is difgraced.

6 Cuius priuatio bona, malum, cuius priuatio mala, bonum.

He formes to make it conceyued that that was euill which is chaunged for the better are, He that is in hell thinkes there is no other heaven. Satis quercus, Acornes were good till bread was found etc. And of the

other fide the formes to make it conceyued that that was good which was chaunged for the worse are, Bona magis carendo quàm fruendo sentimus, Bona à tergo formosisma, Good things neuer appear in their full beautie, till they turne their backe and be going away, etc. The reprehension of this colour is, that the good or euil which is remoued may be esteemed good or euil comparatively and not positively or simply. So that if the privation bee good, it follows not the former

condition was euil, but leffe good, for the flower or bloffome is a positive good, although the remove of it to give place to the fruite be a comparative good. So in the tale of Æsope; when the olde fainting man in the heat of the day cast downe his burthen and called for death, and when death came to know his will with him, said it was for nothing but to helpe him vppe with his burthen agayne: it doth not follow that because death which was the privation of the burthen was ill, therefore the burthen was good. And in this parte the ordinarie forme of Malum necessarium aptly reprehendeth this colour, for Privatio mali necessarii est mala, and yet that doth not convert the nature of the necessarie cuil, but it is euill.

Againe it commeth fometimes to passe, that there is an equalitie in the chaunge or privation, and as it were a *Dilemma boni* or a *Dilemma mali*, so that the corruption of the one good is a generation of the other, *Sorti pater æquus vtrique est*: And contrarie the remedy of the one euill is the occasion and commencement of an other, as in *Scilla* and *Charibdis*.

'

7. Quod bono vicinum, bonum: quod a bono remotum malum.



Vch is the nature of thinges, that thinges contrarie and diftant in nature and qualitie are also feuered and distoyned in place, and thinges like and consenting in qualitie are placed, and as it were quar-

tered together, for partly in regarde of the nature to fpredde, multiplie and infect in fimilitude, and partly in regard of the nature to break, expell and alter that which is difagreeable and contrarie, most thinges do eyther affociate and draw neere to themselues the like, or at least affimulate to themselues that which approcheth neer them, and doe also driue away,

chase and exterminate their contraries, And that is the reason commonly yeelded why the middle region of the aire shold be coldest, because the Sunne and flars are eyther hot by direct beames or by reflection. The direct beames heate the vpper region, the reflected beames from the earth and feas heate the lower Region. That which is in the middest being furthest distant in place from these two Regions of heate are most distant in nature that is coldest, which is that they tearme colde or hot, per antiperistasin, that is inuironing you by contraries, which was pleafantly taken holde of by him that faid that an honest man in these daies must needes be more honest then in ages heretofore, propter antiperistafin, because the shutting of him in the middest of contraries must needs make the honesty stronger and more compact in it selfe.

The reprehension of this colour is, first many things of amplitude in their kind doe as it were ingrosse to themselves all, and leave that which is next them most destitute, as the shootes or vnderwood that grow neare a great and spread tree, is the most pyned and shrubbie wood of the field, because the great tree doth deprive and deceive them of sappe and nourishment. So he saith wel, Divitis servi maxime servi: And the comparison was pleasant of him that compared courtiers attendant in the courtes of princes, without great place or office, to sasting dayes, which were next the holy daies, but otherwise were the leanest dayes of all the weeke.

An other reprehension is, that things of greatnes and predominancie, though they doe not extenuate the thinges adioyning in substance; yet they drowne them and obscure them in shew and appearance. And therefore the Astronomers say, that whereas in all other planets coniunction is the perfectest amitie: the Sunne contrariwise is good by aspect, but eaill by coniunction.

A third reprehension is because euill approachet to good sometimes for concealement, sometimes for protection, and good to euill for conversion and reformation. So hipocrisie draweth neer to religion for covert

and hyding it felse: Sape latet vitium procinitate boni, and Sanctuary men which were commonly inordinate men and malefactors, were wont to be neerest to priestes and Prelates and holy men, for the maiestie of good thinges is such, as the confines of them are reuered. On the other side our Sauiour charged with neerenes of Publicanes and rioters said, The Phistian approcheth the sicke, rather then the whole.

8. Quod quis culpa fua contraxit, maius malum; quod ab externis imponitur, minus malum.



HE reason is because the sting and remorfe of the mind accusing it selfe doubleth all aduersitie, contrarywise the considering and recording inwardly that a man is cleare and free from fault, and just imputation,

doth attemper outward calamities: For if the euill bee in the fence and in the confcience both, there is a gemination of it, but if euill be in the one and comfort in the other, it is a kind of compensation. So the Poets in tragedies doe make the most passionate lamentations, and those that forerunne final dispaire, to be accusing, questioning and torturing of a mans selfe.

Seque vnum clamat caufamque, caputque malum. and contrariwife the extremities of worthie perfons haue been annihilated in the confideration of their owne good deferuing. Befides when the euill commeth from without, there is left a kinde of euaporation of griefe, if it come by humane iniurie, eyther by indignation and meditating of reuenge from our felues, or by expecting or forconceyuing that Nemefis and retribution will take holde of the authours of our hurt, or if it bee by fortune or accident, yet there is left a kinde of exportulation against the diuine powers.

Atque Deos atque astra vocat crudelia mater.

But where the euill is deriued from a mans own fault there all strikes deadly inwardes and suffocateth.

The reprehension of this colour is first in respect of hope, for reformation of our faultes is in noftra potestate, but amendment of our fortune simplie is not. Therefore Demosthenes in many of his orations fayth thus to the people of Athens. That which having regarde to the time past is the worst pointe and circumflance of all the rest, that as to the time to come is the best: What is that? Euen this, that by your sloth, irrefolution, and mifgouernement, your affaires are growne to this declination and decay. For had you vied and ordered your meanes and forces to the best, and done your partes every way to the full, and notwithstanding your matters should have gone backwards in this manner as they doe, there had been no hope left of recoverie or reparation, but fince it hath beene onely by your owne errours etc. So Epictetus in his degrees faith, The worst state of man is to accuse externe things, better then that to accuse a mans selfe, and best of all to accuse neyther.

An other reprehension of this colour is in respect of the wel bearing of euils, wherewith a man can charge no bodie but himselse, which maketh them the lesse.

Leve fit quod bene fertur onus. And therefore many natures, that are evther extreamely proude and will take no fault to themselues, or els very true, and cleauing to themselues (when they see the blame of any thing that falles out ill must light voon themfelues) have no other shift but to bear it out wel, and to make the least of it, for as we see when sometimes a fault is committed, and before it be known who is to blame, much adoe is made of it, but after if it appeare to be done by a fonne, or by a wife, or by a neere friend, then it is light made of. So much more when a man must take it vpon himselfe. And therefore it is commonly feene that women that marrie husbandes of their owne choosing against their friends confents, if they be neuer fo ill vfed, yet you shall feldome fee them complaine but to fet a good face on it.

9. Quod opera et virtute nostra partum est maius bonum; quod ab alieno beneficio, vel ab indulgentia fortunæ delatum est minus bonum.



He reasons are first the future hope, because in the fauours of others or the good windes of fortune we haue no state or certainty, in our endeuours or abilities we haue. So as when they haue purchased

vs one good fortune, we have them as ready and

better edged and inured to procure another.

The formes be, you have wonne this by play, you have not onely the water, but you have the receit, you can

make it againe if it be lost etc.

Next because these properties which we inioy by the benefite of others carry with them an obligation, which seemeth a kinde of burthen, whereas the other which deriue from our felues, are like the freest patents absque aliquo inde reddendo, and if they proceede from fortune or prouidence, yet they seeme to touch vs secreatly with the reuerence of the diuine powers whose sauours we tast, and therfore worke a kind of religious seare and restraint, whereas in the other kind, that come to passe which the Prophet speaketh, Lætantur et exultant, immolant plagis suis, et facrisicant reti suo.

Thirdely because that which commeth vnto vs without our owne virtue, yeeldeth not that commendation and reputation, for actions of great felicitie may drawe wonder, but prayselesse, as Cicero said to Cefar: Que miremur habemus, que laudemus expessamus.

Fourthly because the purchases of our own industrie are ioyned commonly with labour and strife which gives an edge and appetite, and makes the fruition of our

desire more pleasant, Suauis cibus a venatu.

On the other fide there bee fowre counter colours to this colour rather then reprehensions, because they be as large as the colour it selfe, first because felicitie seemeth to bee a character of the sauour and loue of the diuine powers, and accordingly worketh both con-

fidence in our felues and respecte and authoritie from others. And this felicitie extendeth to many casuall thinges, whereunto the care or virtue of man cannot extend, and therefore seemeth to be a larger good, as when Casar sayd to the sayler, Casarem portas et fortunam eius, if he had saide, et virtutem eius, it had beene small comfort against a tempest otherwise then if it might seeme vpon merite to induce fortune.

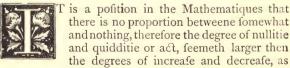
Next, whatfoeuer is done by vertue and industrie, feemes to be done by a kinde of habite and arte, and therefore [thereupon] open to be imitated and followed, whereas felicitie is imitable: fo wee generally fee, that things of nature feeme more excellent then things of arte, because they be imitable, for *quod imi*-

tabile est potentia quodam vulgatum est.

Thirdly, felicitie commendeth those things which commeth without our owne labor, for they seeme gifts, and the other seemes penyworths: whereupon Plutarch sayth elegantly of the actes of Timoleon, who was so fortunate, compared with the actes of Agesilaus and Epaminondas, That they were like Homers verses they ranne so easily and so well, and therefore it is the word we give vnto poesie, terming it a happie vaine, because facilitie seemeth ever to come from happines.

Fourthly, this fame *præter fpem*, vel præter expectatum, doth increase the price and pleasure of many things, and this cannot be incident to those things that proceede from our owne care, and compasse.

10 Gradus priuationis maior videtur quam gradus diminutionis; et rurfus gradus inceptionis maior videtur quam gradus incrementi.



to a monoculos it is more to loofe one eye, then to a man that hath two eyes. So if one haue loft diuers

children, it is more griefe to him to loofe the last then all the rest, because he is spes gregis. And therefore Sybilla when the brought her three books, and had burned two, did double the whole price of both the other, because the burning of that had bin gradus prinationis, and not diminutionis. This couler is reprehended first in those things, the vse and service whereof resteth in sufficiencie, competencie, or determinate quantitie, as if a man be to pay one hundreth pounds vpon a penaltie, it is more for him to want xii pence, then after that xii pence supposed to be wanting, to want ten shillings more: So the decay of a mans estate seemes to be most touched in the degree when he first growes behinde, more then afterwards when he proues nothing worth. And hereof the common fourmes are, Sera in fundo parsimonia, and as good neuer awhit, as neuer the better, etc. It is reprehended also in respect of that notion, Corruptio vnius, generatio vlterius, fo that gradus prinationis, is many times leffe matter, because it gives the cause, and motive to some new course, As when Demosthenes reprehended the people for harkning to the conditions offered by King Phillip, being not honorable nor equall, he faith they were but elements of their floth and weakenes, which if they were taken away, necessitie woulde teach them stronger resolutions. So Doctor Hector was wont to Dames of London, when they complayned they could not tell how, but yet they could not endure to take any medicine, he would tell them, Their way was onely to be ficke, for then they would be glad to take any medicine.

Thirdly, this couler may be reprehended, in respect that the degree of decrease is more sensitive, then the degree of privation; for in the minde of man, gradus diminutionis may worke a wavering betweene hope and feare, and so keepe the minde in suspence from setling and accommodating in patience, and resolution; hereof the common sources are, Better eye out, then alwayes

ake, make or marre, etc.

For the fecond braunch of this couler, it depends vpon the fame generall reason: hence grew the common

154 A Table of Coulers of good and euill.

place of extolling the beginning of euery thing. Dimidium qui bene capit habet. This made the Astrologers fo idle as to judge of a mans nature and deftiny by the constellation of the moment of his nativitie, or conception. This couler is reprehended, because many inceptions are but as Epicurus termeth them, tentamenta, that is, imperfect offers, and effaves, which vanish and come to no substance without an iteration. fo as in fuch cases the second degree seemes the worthyest, as the body-horse in the Cart, that draweth more then the forehorfe, hereof the common fourmes are, The fecond blow makes the fray, The fecond word makes the bargaine, Alter principium dedit, alter abstulit, etc. Another reprehension of this couler is in respect of defatigation, which makes perseuerance of greater dignitie then inception, [for chaunce or inflinct of nature may cause inception, but setled affection or judgement maketh the continuance.

Thirdly, this couler is reprehended in fuch things which have a naturall course, and inclination contrary to an inception. So that the inception is continually evacuated and gets no start, but there behoveth perpetua inceptio, as in the common fourme. Non progredi, est regredi, Qui non proficit, desicit: Running against the hill: Rowing against the streame, etc. For if it be with the streame or with the hill, then the degree of

inception is more then al the reft.

Fourthly, this couler is to be vnderstoode of gradus inceptionis à potentia, ad actum comparatus; cum gradu ab actu ad incrementum: For other, maior videtur gradus ab impotentia ad potentiam, quàm a potentia

FINIS.

ad actum.

Printed at London by John Winder for Humfrey Hooper.

AHARMONY

OF THE

SECOND GROUP

OF

TWENTY-FOUR

ESSAYS.

- 11. OF FRIENDSHIP.
- 12. Of Wisdom for A Man's Self.
- 13. OF NOBILITY.
- 14. OF GOODNESS AND GOODNESS OF NATURE.
- 15. OF BEAUTY.
- 16. Of SEEMING WISE.
- 17. OF AMBITION.
- 18. OF RICHES.
- 19. OF DESPATCH.
- 20. OF DEFORMITY.
 21. OF YOUTH AND AGE.
- 22. OF MARRIAGE AND SINGLE LIFE.

- 23. OF PARENTS AND CHILDREN.
- 24. OF GREAT PLACE.
- 25. OF EMPIRE.
- 26. OF COUNSEL.
- 27. OF ATHEISM.
- 28. OF SUPERSTITION.
- 29. OF PRAISE.
- 30. OF NATURE IN MEN.
- 31. OF CUSTOM AND EDUCATION.
- 32. OF FORTUNE.
- 33. OF DEATH.
- 34. OF SEDITIONS AND TROUBLES.

First found in Harleian MS. 5106.

COLLATED WITH SUBSEQUENT EDITIONS.



The Writings of

S^r ffrancis Bacon Kn^t:

the Kinges Solli[‡]

citor Generall

in Moralitie

Policie, and

Historie.

¡This draft dedication was never printed by Bacon.]

Sloane MS. 4259, fol. 155.

To the most high and excellent Prince

Henry, Prince of Wales, Duke of

Cornwall and Earle of Chester.

yt may please your H[ighness]



Aving devided my life into the Contemplative, and active parte, I am defierous to give his Maiesty, and your Highness of the Fruites of both, simple thoughe they be. To

write iust Treatises requireth leasure in the Writer, and leasure in the Reader, and therefore are not so fitt, neither in regard of your Highnesses princely affaiers, nor in regard of my continual Services, Which is the cause, that hath made me chuse to write certaine breist notes, sett downe rather significantly, then curiously, which I have called Essaies; The word is late, but the thing is auncient. For Senecaes Epistles to Lucilius; yf one marke them well, are but Essaies,—That is

difperfed Meditacions, thoughe conveyed in the forme of Epiftles. Theis labors of myne I knowe cannott be worthie of your highness—for what can be worthie of you? But my hope is, they may be as graynes of falte, that will rather give you an appitite, then offend you with fatiety. And althoughe, they handle those thinges wherein both Mens Lives, and theire pens are most conversant, yet (What I have attained, I knowe not) but I have endeavoured to make them not vulgar; but of a nature, Whereof a Man shall find much in experience, litle in bookes; fo as they are neither repeticions, nor fansies. But howfoever, I shall most humbly desier your Highness to accept them in gracious part, and to conceive that if I cannott reft, but must shewe my dutifull, and devoted affection to your Highness, in theis thinges which proceed from my felf, I shalbe much more ready to doe it, in performance of any your princely Commaundementes; And fo wishing your Highness all princely felicitye, I rest.

your Highnesses most humble Servant.

III. 1607-12. æt. 47-52. Harleian MS. 5106.

[1.] Of friendship.

[The first page of the MS. is torn away, so that there remains only the conclusion of this Essay. It is, however, certain from the next following Essays being num-bered 2, 3, 4, &c., that there was no other Essay than this one upon the missing page, though of what length this one consisted cannot at present be known. Possibly the MS. began with a list of the Essays contained in it.]

inanimate, vnion strengthneth anie naturall mocion. and weakeneth anie violent mocion; Soe amongest men, Frendshipp multiplyeth ioves, and deuideth greifes. Therefore who foeuer wanteth Fortitude, lett him worshipp Frendshipp; For the voke of Frendshipp maketh the voke of Fortune more light: There bee fome whose liues are, as if they perpetually played vponn a stage, difguifed to all others, open onely to themselues; But perpetuall diffimulacion is painefull, and hee that is all fortune and noe nature is an exquisite Hirelinge: Liue not in contynuall smoother, but take some frendes with whom to communicate. It will vnfould thie vnderstanding; it will evaporate thie affeccions, it will prepare thie bufiIV. 1612. æt. 52.

13. Of friendship.



Here is no greater defert or wildernes then to bee without true friends.

For without friendship, fociety is but meeting. And as it is certaine, that in bodies inanimate, vnion strengthneth any naturall motion, and weakeneth any violent motion; So amongst men, friendship multiplieth ioies, and divideth griefes. Therefore who foeuer wanteth fortitude, let him worshippe Friendship. For the voke of Friendship maketh the yoke of fortune more There bee fome whose liues are, as if they perpetually plaid vpon a stage, disguised to all others, open onely to themselues. But perpetuall diffimulation is painfull; and hee that is all *Fortune*, and no Nature is an exquisit Hierling. Liue not in continuall fmother, but take fome friends with whom to communicate. It will vnfold thy vnderstanding; it will euaporate thy affections; it will prepare thy busiv.

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British Museum Copy.

27. frendship.

[Entirely rewritten, fee below.]

III. 160 -12. æt. 47-52.

A Man may keepe a Corner of his minde from his frend, and it bee but to witnesse to himself that it is not vponn faciltye, but vponntrue vse of Frendshipp that hee imparteth himfelf. Want of true frendes as it is the rewarde of perfidious Natures, fo it is an impoficion vponn great fortunes. The one deferue it, the other cannottscapeit. And therefore it is good to retayne finceritye, and to putt it into the reckoning of Ambition, that the higher one goeth, the fewer true Frendeshe shall have. Perfection of Frendshipp is but a Speculacion; It is Frendfhipp, when a Man can fay to himfelf, I loue this Man without respect of Vtilitve. I am open harted to him, I fingle him from the generalitye of those with whom I liue, I make him a porcion of my owne wishes.

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nesse. A man may keepe a corner of his minde from his friend, and it be but to witnesse to himselfe, that it is not vpon facility, but vpon true vse of friendship that hee imparteth himfelfe. Want of true friends, as it is the reward of perfidious natures; fo it is an impofition vpon great fortunes. The one deferue it, the other cannot scape it. And therefore it is good to retaine fincerity, and to put it into the reckoning of Ambition, that the higher one goeth, the fewer true friends he shall haue. Perfection of friendship, is but a freculation. It is friendship, when a man can fay to himfelfe, I loue this man without respect of vtility. I am open hearted to him. I fingle him from the generality of those with whom I liue: I make him a portion of my owne wishes.





[Entirely rewritten in 1625 Edition, fee opposite.]

V.

1625.

æt. 65.

British Museum Copy.

27. frendship.

[Entirely rewritten, fee below.]



T had beene hard for him that fpake it, to have put more Truth and vntruth together, in few Words, then in that Speech; Whofoeuer is delighted in folitude, is either a wilde

Beaft, or a God.^a For it is most true, that a Naturall and Secret Hatred, and Auersation towards Society, in any Man, hath somewhat of the Sauage Beast; But it

[&]quot; Aristotle. Politics. Bk. i. c. 2.

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[Entirely rewritten in 1625 Edition, fee opposite.]

HF. Pariations in posthumous Latin Edition of 1638.

1 But it is. Illud tamen e converso, 'but the converse.'
2 It. Hujusmodi Vita solitaria, 'a solitary life of this kind.'

8 Loue. Omitted in the Latin.

⁴ Candian. Cretense, 'the Cretan.'
5 What Solitude is. Quid hoc sit quod Solitudo nominatur, 'what that s which is called solitude.

⁶ Is not Company. Non est Societas dicenda, 'is not to be called com

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is1 most Vntrue, that it should have any Character, at all, of the Diuine Nature; Except it² proceed, not out of a Pleafure in *Solitude*, but out of a Loue³ and defire, to fequester a Mans Selfe, for a Higher Conversation: Such as is found, to have been falfely and fainedly, in fome of the Heathen; As Epimenides the Candian,4 Numa the Roman, Empedocles the Scicilian, and Apollonius of Tyana; And truly and really, in divers of the Ancient Hermits, and Holy Fathers of the Church. But little doe Men perceiue, what Solitude is,5 and how farre it extendeth. For a Crowd is not Company; 6 And Faces 7 are but a Gallery of Pictures; And Talke but a Tinckling Cymball, where there is no Loue. The Latine Adage meeteth with it a little; Magna Civitas, Magna folitudo; Because in a great Towne, Friends⁸ are scattered; So that there is not that Fellowship,9 for the most Part, which is in leffe Neighbourhoods. But we may goe further, and affirme most truly, That it is a meere, and miferable Solitude, to want true Friends; without which the World is but a Wildernesse: And even in this sense also of Solitude, whosoeuer in the Frame of his Nature and Affections, is vnfit for 10 Friend/hip, he taketh it of the Beast, and not from Humanity.

A principall Fruit of Friendship, is the Ease and Difcharge of the Fulneffe¹¹ and Swellings of the Heart, which Passions of all kinds doe cause and induce. 12 We know Difeases of Stoppings, and Suffocations, are the most dangerous in the body; And it is not much

a A great city is a great desert.

⁷ Faces. Facies Hominum, 'faces of men.'

<sup>Friends. Amici et Necessarii, 'friends and relatives.'
Fellowship. Familiariter, et in consortio, vivatur, 'men live inti</sup>mately and in company.'

¹⁰ Vnfit for. Abhorret, 'shrinks from.'
11 Fulnesse. Anxietatis, 'anxiety.
12 Cause and induce. Imprimere, 'impress.'

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¹³ Minde. Egritudinibus Anima, 'diseases of the mind.'
14 Suspicions. Curas, 'cares.'
15 In a kind. Sub Sigillo, 'under the seal.'
16 Shrift. Omitted in the Latin.

¹⁷ Distance. Distantiam et sublimitatem, 'distance and loftiness.'

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otherwise in the Minde: 13 You may take Sarza to open the Liver; Steele to open the Spleene; Flower of Sulphur for the Lungs; Caftoreum for the Braine; But no Receipt openeth the Heart, but a true Friend, to whom you may impart, Griefes, Ioyes, Feares, Hopes, Suspicions, ¹⁴ Counfels, and whatsoeuer lieth vpon the Heart, to oppresse it, in a kind 15 of Ciuill

Shrift16 or Confession.

It is a Strange Thing to observe, how high a Rate, Great Kings and Monarchs, do fet vpon this Fruit of Friendship, whereof we speake: So great, as they purchase it, many times, at the hazard of their owne Safety, and Greatnesse. For Princes, in regard of the distance¹⁷ of their Fortune, from that of their Subjects and Seruants, cannot gather this Fruit; Except (to make Themfelues capable thereof) they raife18 fome Perfons, to be as it were Companions, and almost Equals to themselues, which many times forteth to Inconuenience. The Moderne Languages giue vnto fuch Perfons, the Name of Fauorites, or Privadoes; 19 As if it were Matter of Grace, or Conuerfation. But the Roman Name attaineth the true Vfe, and Caufe thereof; Naming them Participes Curarum; For it is that, which tieth the knot.20 And we fee plainly, that this hath been done, not by Weake and Passionate Princes onely, but by the Wifest, and most Politique that euer reigned; Who have oftentimes ioyned to themselues, some of their Seruants; Whom both Themselues have called Frends; And allowed Others likewife to call them in the fame manner; Vfing the Word which is received between Private²¹ Men.

¹⁸ Raise. Evehant et promoveant, 'raise and promote'
19 Priuadoes. Amicorum Regis, 'friends of the king.'
20 Knot. Verum Ligamen, 'true knot.'
21 Priuate. Private Fortune, 'of private fortune'

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[Entirely rewritten in 1625 Edition, fee opposite.]

²² Great. Verba Indignationis, 'indignant words.'
23 In effect. Fere disertis verbis, 'almost in express words.'
14 Had power. Omitted in the Latin.
25 Calpurnia. Vxoris suæ Calpurniæ, 'his wife Calpurnia.'
26 Dismisse. Eum Senatum non tam parvi habiturum, ut dimittere vellet, 'he would not have so little respect for the senate as to dismiss them.'

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L. Sylla, when he commanded Rome, raised Pompey (after furnamed the Great) to that Height, that Pombey vaunted Himselfe for Sylla's Ouermatch. For when he had carried the Confulship for a Frend of his, against the pursuit of Sylla, and that Sylla did a little refent thereat, and began to fpeake great,22 Pompey turned vpon him againe, and in effect 23 bad him be quiet; For that more Men adored the Sunne Rifing, then the Sunne fetting. With Iulius Cafar, Decimus Brutus had obtained that Interest, as he fet him downe, in his Testament, for Heire in Remainder, after his Nephew. And this was the Man, that had power²⁴ with him, to draw him forth to his death. For when Cæfar would have discharged the Senate, in regard of fome ill Prefages, and specially a Dreame of Calpurnia; 25 This Man lifted him gently by the Arme, out of his Chaire, telling him, he hoped he would not difmiffe26 the Senate, till his wife had dreamt a better Dreame. And it feemeth, his fauour was fo great, as Antonius in a Letter, which is recited Verbatim, in one of Cicero's Philippiques, calleth him Venefica, 27 Witch; c As if he had enchanted Cæfar. Augustus raifed Agrippa (though of meane Birth) to that Heighth, as when he confulted with Macenas, about the Marriage of his Daughter Iulia, Macenas tooke the Liberty to tell him; That he must either marry his Daughter to Agrippa, or take away his life, there was no third way, he had made him fo great.d With Tiberius Cafar, Seianus had afcended to that Height, as they Two were tearmed and reckoned, as a Paire of Frends. Tiberius in a Letter to him faith; Hac pro Amicitiâ nostrà non occultaui: And the whole Senate, dedicated

^a Plutarch. Pompey. xiv.
^c Cicero. Philippics. xiii. 11.
^d Dion Cassius. Ivi. 6.
^e On account of our friendship, I have not concealed these things.

Tacitus. Annales. iv. 40.

²⁷ Venefica. Vaneficum, 'sorcerer.'

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 ²⁸ Great dearenesse of friendship. Arctam Amicitiam, 'close friendship.'
 29 The like. Similis, Amicitiæ Exemplum, 'an example of like friendship.'

an Altar to Frendship, as to a Goddesse, in respect of the great Dearenesse of Frendship, 28 between them Two.a The like29 or more was between Septimius Seuerus. and Plantianus. For he forced his Eldest Sonne to marry the Daughter of Plantianus; And would often maintaine Plantianus, in doing Affronts to his Son: And did write also in a Letter to the Senate, by these Words: I love the Man fo well, as I wish he may ouer-live me.b Now if these Princes, had beene as a Traian, or a Marcus Aurelius, A Man might haue thought, that this had proceeded of an abundant Goodnesse of Nature; But being Men so Wise, of such Strength and Seueritie of minde, and fo Extreme Louers of Themselues, as all these were; It proueth most plainly, that they found their owne Felicitie (though as great as euer happened to Mortall Men) but as an Halfe Peece, except they mought have a Frend to make it Entire: 30 And yet, which is more, they were Princes, that had Wiues, Sonnes, Nephews; And yet all these could not supply the Comfort of Frendship.

It is not to be forgotten, what Commineus observeth,c of his first Master Duke Charles the Hardy; Namely, that hee would communicate his Secrets with none; And least of all, those Secrets, which troubled him most. Whereupon he goeth on, and faith, That towards his Latter time; That closeneffe did impaire, and a little perish his understanding. Surely Commineus mought have made the fame Judgement also, if it had pleafed him, of his Second Master Lewis the Eleuenth, whose closenesses was indeed his Tormentour. The Parable of Pythagoras is darke, but true: Cor ne

<sup>Tacitus. Annals. iv. 74.
Should be Plautianus: see Dion Cassius. lxxv. 15.
Philip de Comines. Historie. Trans. by T. Dannett. Bk. v. c. p. 148.</sup>

³⁰ Entire. Integra et perfecto. 'entire and complete.'
31 Closeness. Occultatio Consiliorum, 'concealment of counsel.'

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miracle.

84 Good. Omitted in the Latin.

 ⁸² Open. Cogitationes suas, et Anxietates libere impertiant, 'impart freely their thoughts and cares.'
 33 Admirable. Ad Miraculum proxime accedit, 'comes very near to a

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edito: Eat not the Heart. Certainly, if a Man would giue it a hard Phrase, Those that want Frends to open³² themselues vnto, are Canniballs of their owne Hearts. But one Thing is most Admirable, 33 (wherewith I will conclude this first Fruit of frendship) which is, that this Communicating of a Mans Selfe to his Frend, works two contrarie Effects; For it redoubleth Ioyes, and cutteth Griefes in Halfes. For there is no Man, that imparteth his *Ioves* to his *Frend*, but he *ioveth* the more; And no Man, that imparteth his Griefes to his Frend, but hee grieueth the leffe. So that it is, in Truth of Operation vpon a Mans Minde, of like vertue, as the Alchymists vie to attribute to their Stone, for Mans Bodie: That it worketh all Contrary Effects, but still to the Good,34 and Benefit of Nature. But yet, without praying in Aid of Alchymists, there is a manifest Image of this, in the ordinarie course of Nature. For in Bodies, 35 Vnion strengthneth and cherisheth any Naturall Action; And, on the other fide, weakneth and dullethany violent Impression: And even so is it of Minds.

The fecond Fruit of Frendship, is Healthfull and Soueraigne³⁶ for the *Vnderstanding*, as the first is for the Affections. For Frendship maketh indeed a faire Day in the Affections, from Storme and Tempests: But it maketh Day-light³⁷ in the Vnderstanding, out of Darknesse and Confusion of Thoughts.38 Neither is this to be vnderstood, onely of Faithfull Counsell, which a Man receiveth from his Frend; But before you come to that, certaine it is, that whofoeuer hath his Minde fraught, with many Thoughts, his Wits and Vnder-

[&]quot; A saying of Pythagoras, quoted by Piatarch. De Educ. Puer. xvii.

⁸⁵ Bodies. Rebus Naturalibus, 'natural things.'
36 Soueraigne. Omitted in the Latin.
87 Day-light. Noctem abigit, et Lumen infundit, 'drives away night and pours in light.'

³⁸ Out of Darknesse . . . Thoughts. ConfusioneCogitationum dissipata, 'having dissipated confusion of thoughts.'

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³⁹ Breake vp. Omitted in the Latin.

⁴⁰ Communicating. Communicatione Consiliorum, 'communicating of plans.

 ⁴¹ Easily. It in omnes partes versat, 'and turns them in every direction.'
 42 Lie. Complicantur et Involvuntur, 'are folded and rolled up.'
 43 Vnderstanding. Obstructionibus Intellectus, 'obstructions of the understanding.'

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flanding doe clarifie and breake vp, 39 in the Communicating⁴⁰ and discoursing with Another: He tosseth his Thoughts, more eafily;41 He marshalleth them more orderly; He feeth how they looke when they are turned into Words; Finally, He waxeth wifer then Himfelfe; And that more by an Houres discourse, then by a Dayes Meditation. It was well faid by Themistocles to the King of Persia: That speech was like Cloth of Arras, opened, and put abroad; Whereby the Imagery doth appeare in Figure; whereas in Thoughts, they lie42 but as in Packs.a Neither is this Second Fruit of Frendship, in opening the Vnderstanding,43 restrained onely to such Frends, as are able to give a Man Counfell: (They indeed are best) But euen, without that, a Man learneth of Himfelfe, and bringeth his owne Thoughts to Light, and whetteth his Wits as against a Stone, which it selfe cuts not. In a word, a Man were better relate himselfe, to a Statua, or Picture, then to fuffer his Thoughts to passe in smother.44

Adde now, to make this Second Fruit of Frendship compleat, that other Point, which lieth more open, and falleth within Vulgar Observation; which is Faithfull Counfell from a Frend. Heraclitus faith well, in one of his Ænigmaes; Dry Light is ever the best.b And certaine it is, that the Light, that a Man receiveth, by Counfell from Another, is Drier, and purer, then that which commeth from his owne Vnderstanding, and Judgement; which is euer infused and drenched in his Affections and Customes. 45 So as, there is as much difference, betweene the Counfell, that a Frend giueth, and that a Man giueth himselfe, as there is be-

^a Plutarch. Themistocles. xxix. 4.
^b Heraclitus the Obscure sayd; The drie Light was the best Soule. Meaning, when the Facilties Intellectual are in vigour, not wet, nor, as it were, blouded by the Affections. Lord Bacon's Apophth. No. 268, Ed. 1625.

Suffer to passe in smother. Silentio suffocare, 'smother in silence.'
 And Customes. Omitted in the Latin.

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⁴⁶ Such. Magis infestus, 'more dangerous.'
47 Good. Omitted in the Latin.
48 Dead. Omitted in the Latin.
49 Others. Tanguam in speculo, aliguando, ut fit etiam in speculis, minus respondet, 'as if in a mirror, sometimes does not answer, as is also the case in mirrors.'

A Man may think. Vetus est, 'it is an old saying.'
 No more. Melius, 'better.' [The illustrations are put inversely in the Latin.

⁵² O1. Licet nonnulli hoc cavillentur: Etiam recte dicitur. 'Some may make this objection. It is rightly said.' ⁵³ Gamester. Spectatorem sæbe plus videre, quam Lusorem, 'a lookeron often sees more than a player.'

tween the Counfell of a Frend, and of a Flatterer. For there is no fuch46 Flatterer, as is a Mans Selfe; And there is no fuch Remedy, against Flattery of a Mans Selfe, as the Liberty of a Frend. Counfell is of two Sorts; The one concerning Manners, the other concerning Businesse. For the First; The best Preferuative to keepe the Minde in Health, is the faithfull Admonition of a Frend. The Calling of a Mans Selfe, to a Strict Account, is a Medicine, fometime, too Piercing and Corrofiue. Reading good47 Bookes of Morality, is a little Flat, and Dead. 48 Obseruing our Faults in Others, 49 is fometimes vnproper for our Cafe. But the best Receipt (best (I sav) to worke, and best to take) is the Admonition of a Frend. It is a strange thing to behold, what groffe Errours, and extreme Abfurdities, Many (especially of the greater Sort) doe commit, for want of a Frend, to tell them of them; To the great dammage, both of their Fame, and Fortune. For, as S. Iames faith, they are as Men, that looke fometimes into a Glaffe, and prefently forget their owne Shape, and Fauour.a As for Bufineffe, a Man may think, 50 if he will, that two Eyes fee no more 51 than one; Or⁵²that a Gamester⁵³feeth alwaies more then a Looker on; ⁵⁴Or that a Man in Anger, is as Wife as he, that hath faid ouer the foure and twenty Letters; Or that a Musket may be shot off, aswell vpon the Arme, as vpon a Rest; And such other fond and high 55 Imaginations, to thinke Himselfe All in All. But when all is done, 56 the Helpe of good 57 Counfell, is that, which

 $[^]a$ James i. 23. In Bacon's time, i and j, and \varkappa and v, were not considered distinct letters.

⁵⁴ Or that a Man in Anger . . . Letters. Omitted in the Latin.
55 Fond and high. Quidam tan altum supiant, 'some think so highly.'
66 All is done. Quicquid dici possit in contrarium, 'whatever may be said to the contrary.'

⁵⁷ The Helpe of, &c. Certum est, Consilium Negotia dirizere, et stabilire. it is certain that counsel setteth business straight and firm.

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⁶² Perfect and entire. Fideli, et intimo, 'feithful and intimate.'
63 Counsell. Consilia illa, et diversis manantia, 'counsels coming from divers persons.'

¹⁰ Good Meaning. Fide, et bonal ntentione, 'faith and good meaning.'
10 You complaine of. Omitted in the Latin.
11 Body. Corporis tai Constitutionis, 'the constitution of your body.'

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fetteth Bufineffe straight. And if any Man thinke, that he will take Counfell, but it shall be by Peeces; Asking Counfell in one Businesse of one Man, and in another Bufinesse of another Man; It is well, (that is to fay, better perhaps then if he asked none at all;) but he runneth two dangers: One, that he shall not be faithfully counfelled; For it is a rare Thing, except it be from a perfect and entire⁵⁸ Frend, to have Counfell giuen, but fuch as shalbe bowed and crooked to some ends, which he hath that giveth it. The other, that he fhall haue Counfell ⁵⁹ giuen, hurtfull, and vnfafe, (though with good Meaning ⁶⁰) and mixt, partly of Mischiefe, and partly of Remedy: Euen as if you would call a Physician, that is thought good, for the Cure of the Difease, you complaine of, 61 but is vnacquainted with your body;62 And therefore, may put you in way for a prefent Cure, but ouerthroweth your Health in some other kinde; 63 And fo cure the Difease, and kill the Patient.64 But a Frend, that is wholly acquainted with a Mans Estate, will beware by furthering any present Businesse, how he dasheth upon other Inconuenience. And therefore, rest not vpon Scattered Counfels: They will rather diffract, and Misleade. then Settle, and Direct.

After these two Noble Fruits of Frendship; (Peace in the Affections, and Support of the Indgement,) followeth the last Fruit; which is like the Pomgranat, full of many kernels; I meane Aid, and Bearing a Part, in all Actions, and Occasions. Here, the best Way, to represent to life the manifold vie of Frendship, is to cast and see, how many Things there are, which a Man cannot doe65 Himfelfe;

Other kinde. In summa, 'on the whole.'
 Patient. Atque hoc facto Morbum extinguet, et non ita multo post, Hominem, 'and in this way destroys the disease, and not so long after, the

⁶⁵ Doe. Exegui commode, 'do conveniently.'

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66 Sparing. Non per Hyperbolen, sed sobrie dictum, 'not hyperbolically, but sparingly said.'

67 For that. Quandoquidem, si quis vere rem reputet, 'since, if one truly

considers the matter.'

68 Farre more then Himselfe. Amici officia, proprias cujusque vires superent, 'the services of a friend surpass one's own strength. 69 Haue their Time. Mortales sunt, 'are mortal.

70 Desire some Things. In Medio Operum aliquorum, 'in the middle of

some works.

71 Bestowing of a Child. Collocatione Filii in Matrimonium, 'bestowing a son in marriage.'

72 Worke. Conatuum et Desideriorum suorum, 'their endeavours and

desires.' 73 Care of those Things . . . after Him. De iisdem rebus, Amici cura et opera, post Mortem perficiendis, 'that those things will be perfected after

his death, by the care and assistance of his friend.'

74 So that a Man . . his desires. Adeo ut Fatum immaturum vix obsit; Atque habeat quis (ut loquamur more Tribulum aut Firmariorum,) in Desideriis suss, Terminum, non unius, sed duarum vitarum, 'so that premature fate scarcely injures him; and a man has (to speak as common people and farmers do) the term of not one but two lives in his desires,

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And then it will appeare, that it was a Sparing⁶⁶ Speech of the Ancients, to fay, That a Frend is another Himfelfe: For that 67 a Frend is farre more then Himfelfe, 68 Men haue their Time. 69 and die many times in defire of fome Things, 70 which they principally take to Heart; The Bestowing of a Child, 71 The Finishing of a Worke, 72 Or the like. If a Man haue a true Frend, he may rest almost fecure, that the Care of those Things, will continue after Him.⁷³ So that a Man hath as it were two Liues in his defires. 74 A Man hath 75 a Body, and that Body is confined to a Place; But where Frendship is, all Offices of Life, are as it were granted to Him, and his Deputy. ⁷⁶ For he may exercise them by his Frend. How many Things are there, which a Man cannot, with any Face or Comelines, fav⁷⁷ or doe Himfelfe? A Man can fcarce alledge his owne Merits with modefty, much leffe extoll them: A man cannot fometimes brooke to Supplicate or Beg: And a number of the like. But all these Things, are Gracefull in a Frends Mouth, which are Blufhing in a Mans Owne. againe, a Mans Person hath many proper Relations, which he cannot put off. A Man cannot speake to his Sonne, but as a Father; To his Wife, but as a Husband; To his Enemy, but ypon Termes: 78 whereas a Frend may fpeak, as the Cafe requires, and not as it forteth with the Perfon. But to enumerate these Things were endleffe: I have given the Rule, where a Man can fitly play his owne Part: If he haue not a Frend, he may quit the Stage.



⁷⁸ Hath. Circumscribitur, 'is bounded by.'
76 For he may exercise them by his Frend. Omitted in the Latin.
77 Say. Omitted in the Latin.

⁷⁸ But vpon Termes. Nisi salva dignitate, without preserving his honour.

Harleian MS. 5106.

2. Of Wisedome for a Mans selfe.



N Ant is a wife Creature for it felf, but it is a fhrewd thing in

an Orchard, or a garden. And certainlye Men that are great lovers of themfelves, wast the publike. Divide with reason betweene felfe-love, and focietye, and be fo true to thie felf, as thou be not false to others.

It is a poore Centre of a Mans actions, himfelfe: It is right Earth, For that onely standes fast voonn his owne Centre, Whereas all thinges, that have affinitve with the heavens, move vpponn the Centre of another, which they benefitt. The referring of all to a Mans felf is more tolerable in a Sovereigne Prince, because themselves are not themselves, but theire good, and evill is at the

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16. Wisdome for a mans selfe.



N Ante is a wife creature for it felfe: But it is a fhrewd thing in

an Orchard or garden. And certainly men that are great louers of themfelues, waste the puplike. Diuide with reason betweene felfe loue, and fociety: and bee fo true to thy felfe, as thou be not false to others.

It is a poore Centre of a mans actions, himfelfe. It is right earth. For that only flands fast vpon his owne centre: whereas all things that have affinity with the heauens, moue vpon the centre of an other, which they benefit. The referring of all to a mans felfe, is more tollerable in a foueraigne Prince; because themselues are not themselues; but their good and euill is at the

FR. Bariations in posthumous Latin Edition of 1638.

Orchard. Omitted in the Latin.
Society. Amorem Reipublica, 'love of the state.'
True. Proximus, 'nearest.'

¹ TITLE. De Prudentia quæ sibi sapii, 'of prudence which is wise for one's self.'

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British Museum Copy.

23. Of Misedome for a Mans selfe.1



Ant is a wife Creature for it Selfe: But it is a fhrewd Thing, in

an Orchard.2 or Garden. And certainly, Men that are great Louers of Themfelues, waste the Publique. Divide with reason betweene Self-loue, and Society: 3 And be fo true4 to thy Selfe, as thou be not false⁵ to Others; Specially to thy King, and Country.

It is a poore6 Center of a Mans Actions, Himfelfe.7 It is right Earth.8 For that onely9 stands fast vpon his owne Center; Whereas all Things, that have Affinity with the *Heavens*, move vpon the Center of another, which they benefit. The Referring of all to a Mans Selfe, is more tolerable in a Soueraigne Prince: Because Themselues are not onely Themfelues; 10 But their Good and Euill, is at the

False. Injurius, 'unjust.' Poore. Ignobile, 'ignoble.'

^{*} Foore. Ignoote, 'Ignoble.'

7 Himselfe. Commodium proprium, 'his own interest.'

8 Earth. Terrestrem naturam sapit, 'savours of earthly nature.'

9 That onely. Terra, 'the earth.'

10 Their Good, &c. Sed publico periculo, et Fortuna, degunt, 'but they live with the danger and fortune of the people.'

perill of the publique Fortune, but it is a desperate evill in a Servaunt to a Prince, or a Cittizen in a Republique: For whatfoever affayres paffe fuch a Mans hande hee crooketh them to his owne endes. which must needes be often excentrique to the endes of his Master, or State: Therefore lett Princes, or States chufe fuch fervauntes, as have not this marke, except they meane theire feruice should be made but the Accessorie. And that which maketh the effect more pernicious is. that all proporcion is loft. were difproporcion enoughe for the feruauntes good to be preferred before the Maisters. But vet it is greater extreame, when a litle good of the feruauntes shall carry thinges against a great good of the Masters; and yet that is the cafe.

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perill of the publike fortune. But it is a desperate euil in a feruant to a Prince, or a Citizen in a Republike. For whatfoeuer affaires paffe fuch a mans hand, hee crooketh them to his owne ends: which must needs beeosten Eccentrike to the ends of his mafter or flate. Therefore let Princes or States, chufe fuch feruants, as haue not this marke; except they meane their feruice should bee made but the acceffary. And that which maketh the effect more pernitious, is, that al proportion is loft. were disproportion enough for the feruants good to be preferred before the masters: But vet it is a greater extreme, when a little good of the feruants, shall carrie things against a great good of the masters. And yet that is the cafe:

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perill of the Publique Fortune. But it is a desperate Euill in a Seruant to a Prince, or a Citizen in a Republique. For whatfoeuer Affaires¹¹ paffe fuch a Mans Hands, 12 he crooketh them to his owne Ends: Which must needs be often Eccentrick to the Ends of his Master, or State. Therefore let Princes, or States, choose fuch Seruants.13 as haue not14 this marke, Except they meane their Seruice should be made but the Accessary. That which maketh the Effect more pernicious, is, that all Proportion 15 is loft. were difproportion enough, for the Seruants Good, to be preferred before the Masters; But yet it is a greater Extreme, when a little Good of the Seruant, fhall carry Things, 16 against a great Good of the Masters. And vet that is

the case of Bad Officers, Treasurers, Ambasiadours, Generals, and other False and Corrupt Seruants; which fet a Bias vpon their Bowle, of their owne Petty Ends, and Enuies, 17 to the ouerthrow 18 of their Mafters Great and Important Affaires. And for the most part,

¹⁶ Carry Things. Antefertur, 'be preferred to.'
17 And Enuies. Omitted in the Latin.
18 Ouerthrow. Quod eum in transversum inclinet utilitatis Domini sur, 'which inclines ir contrary to the profit of their master.'

Ffor the good fuch fervauntes receive, is after the modell of theire owne Fortune, but the hurt, they fell for that good, is after the modell of theire Mafters Fortune. And certainly it is the nature of extreame Self-lovers, as they will fett an howfe on fire, and it were but to roft theire egge. And yet theis Men manie tymes hold creditt with theire Maisters, because theire fludy is but to pleafe them, and profitt themfelves; And for either refpect, they will abandon the good of theire affaires.

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for the good fuch feruants receive; is after the modell of their owne fortune: but the hurt they fell for that good, is after the modell of their Mafters Fortune. And certainely it is the nature of extreme felfe-louers, as they will fet an house one fire, and it were but to roft their egges; and yet these men many times hold credit with masters; because study is but to please them, and profit themfelues; and for either refpect they will abandon the good of their affaires.





Lovers of themselves without a rival. Cicero. Ad Quint. Fratem. iii. 8.

¹⁹ Sell. Permutent, 'exchange.'
20 Extreme. Omitted in the Latin.
21 House. Domun Proximi, 'the house of their neighbour.'
22 Masters. Viros potentes, 'powerful men.'
23 Affaires. Domini sui, 'of their master.'
24 Rats. Soricum, 'shrews.'
25 Thrusts out . . for him. E Domo expellit, quam sibi defodit, non alii, 'thrusts [the Badger] out of the house which he has dug for himself, not for another.' for another.'

²⁶ Selfe-wisdome. Pulchra illa Sapientia, 'that fine wisdom.'

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the Good fuch Seruants receive, is after the Modell of their own Fortune; But the Hurt they fell19 for that Good, is after the Modell of their Mafters Fortune. And certainly, it is the Nature of Extreme²⁰ Selfe-Louers; As they will fet an House²¹ on Fire, and it were but to roaft their Egges: And yet thefe Men, many times, hold credit with their Mafters;22 Because their Study is but to pleafe Them, and profit Themfelues: And for either refpect, they will abandon the Good of their Affaires. 23

Wifedome for a Mans felfe, is in many Branches thereof, a depraued Thing. It is the Wifedome of Rats, 24 that will be fure to leaue a House, somewhat before it fall. It is the Wifedome of the Fox, that thrusts out the Badger, who digged and made Roome for him. 25 It is the Wifedome of Crocodiles, that shed teares, when they would deuoure. But that which is specially to be noted, is, that those, which (as Cicero saies of Pompey) are, Sui Amantes sine Rivali, a are many times vnfortunate. And whereas they have all their time facrificed to Themselves, they become in the end themselves Sacrifices to the Inconstancy of Fortune; whose Wings they thought, by their Self-Wisedome, 26 to have Pinnioned.



Harleian MS. 5106.

3. Of Aobilitye.



T is a reverend thing to fee an auncient Castell, or building not

in decave; or to fee a faier tymber Tree found, and perfect; how much more to behold an auncient Noble familye, which hath flood against the waves, and weathers of tyme. For new Nobility is but the Act of Power, but auncient Nobility is the Act of Tyme. The first Raysers of Fortunes are commonly more vertuous, but leffe innocent. then theire descendentes: For there is rarely ryfing, but by a commixture of good and euill Actes. But it is reason the memorie of theire vertues remaine to theire posterityes, and theire faultes dye with themselves; Nobilitie of Birth commonly abateth Industrie; and hee that is not industrious, envyeth him, that is; Besides Noble persons cannott goe much higher; and hee that

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7. Of Aobility.



T is a reuerend thing to fee an ancient castle or building not

in decay: or to fee a faire timber tree found and perfect: how much more to behold an ancient Noble familie, which hath flood against the waues and weathers of time. For new Nobility is but the act of power; but ancient Nobility is the act of time. The first raisers of Fortunes are commonly more vertuous, but leffe innocent, then their descendants. For there is rarely rifing, but by a commixture of good and euil Arts. But it is reason the memorie of their vertues remain to their posterities, and their faults die with themselves. Nobilitie of Birth commonly abateth industrie: and hee that is not industrious, enuieth him that is: Besides noble perfons, cannot goe much higher: And he that V.

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British Museum Copy.

14. Of Aobility.

[Transposed, see below at pp. 193, 195.]

standeth at a stay when others rife, can hardlye avovd mocions of envve. On thother fide, Nobilitye extinguisheth the passiue Envie in others towardes them, because they are in

possession of Honor, and Envye is as the Sunbeames, that beate more vponnaryfing ground, then vponn a levell.

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standeth at a stay when others rife, can hardly auoid motions of enuie. On the other fide Nobility extinguisheth the passiue enuie in others towards them: because they are in the possession of Honour: and Enuy is as the funne beames, that beate more vpon a rifing ground, then vpon a leuell.

The paragraph on the opposite page was added in the 1625 edition, at the beginning of the Effay.]

Need it. Proceres non desiderantur: 'peers are not needed.'
 They. Status ille Popularis, 'that state of the people.'
 Sedition. Factionibus et Turbis, 'factions and disturbances.'
 Then where there are. Ubi non sunt, 'where there are not.'

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14. Of Aobility.

[Transposed, see below, at pp. 193, 195.]

[These four lines were transposed in 1625 Edition to the Essay Of Enuy, see p. 514.]

E will speake of Nobility, first as a Portion of an Estate; Then as a Condition of Particular Perfons. A Monarchy, where there is no Nobility at all, is euer a pure, and abfo-

lute Tyranny; As that of the Turkes. For Nobility attempers Soveraignty, and drawes the Eyes of the People, fomewhat afide from the Line Royall. But for Democracies, they need it 1 not; And they 2 are commonly, more quiet, and leffe fubiect to Sedition,3 then where there are4 Stirps of Nobles. For Mens Eyes are vpon the Bufinesse, and not vpon the Persons: Or if vpon the Persons, it is for the Businesse sake, as fittest, and not for Flags and Pedegree.5 Wee fee the Switzers last well, 6 notwithstanding their Diversitie of Religion, and of Cantons For Vtility is their Bond, and not Respects.7 The vnited Prouinces of the Low Countries, in their Gouernment, excell: For where there is an Equality, the Confultations are more indifferent, and the Payments and Tributes more cheerfull.

Dedegree. Imaginum, 'busts.'
 Switzers last well. Helvetiorum Rempublicam satis florentem, 'the republic of the Swiss, flourishing enough.'
 Respects. Dignitas, 'honour.'

Nobilitye A great addeth Maiestie to a Monarch, but diminisheth power; and putteth life, and fpiritt into the people, but preffeth theire fortunes. It is well when Nobles are not to great for Souereignty nor for Iustice, and yet mainteyned in that height, as the Infolencye of inferiours may bee broken vponn them, before it come on to fast vponn the maiestie of Kings.

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A great Nobilitie addeth maiesty to a Monarch, but diminisheth power: and putteth life and fpirit into the people; but preffeth their fortunes. It is well when nobles are not too great for Soueraigntie, nor for Iustice; and vet maintained in that height, as the infollency of inferiours may be broken vpon them, before it come on too fast vpon the maiestie of Kings.

Originally at the beginning. Transposed here in 1625 Edition; fee pp. 188, 190.]

⁸ Life and Spirit. Animos, 'spirit.'
9 Height. Dignitatis Gradu, 'height of honour,'
10 Broken vpon. Illorum Reverencia, tanquam Obice, retundatur, 'may
be blunted by reverence of them, as if by a barrier.'

¹¹ Numerous nobility. Quæ plerunque minus potens est, 'which generally is less powerful.'

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Agreat and Potent Nobility addeth Maiestie to a Monarch, but diminisheth Power: And putteth Life and Spirit8 into the People, but presseth their Fortune. It is well, when Nobles are not too great for Soueraignty, nor for Iustice; And yet maintained in that heigth,9 as the Infolencie of Inferiours, may be broken vpon10 them, before it come on too fast vpon the Maiesty of Kings.

A Numerous Nobility, 11 caufeth Pouerty, and Inconuenience¹² in a State: For it is a Surcharge of Expence; And besides, it being of Necessity, that many of the Nobility, fall in time to be weake in Fortune, it maketh a kinde of Disproportion, 13 between Honour and Meanes.

As for Nobility in particular Persons; It is a Reuerend Thing, to fee an Ancient Castle, or Building not in decay; Or to fee a faire14 Timber Tree, found and perfect: How much more, to behold an Ancient Noble

Family, which hath flood against 15 the Waues and

 ¹² Inconvenience. Omitted in the Latin.
 13 Disproportion. Divortium quoddam, sive malum Temperamentum, 14 Faire. Annosam ei proceram, 'old and tal'.'
15 Stood against. Iilusam, 'unhurt by.'

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[Originally at the beginning. Transposed here in 1625 Edition; fee pp. 188, 190.]

[See pp. 190, 191, 514.]

¹⁶ Power. Regia Potentia, 'royal power.'
17 Time. Temporis solius, 'time alone,'
18 To nobility. Ad Nobilitatis Fastigium, 'to the height of nobility.'
19 More vertuous. Virtutum Claritudine . . . eminent, 'excel in the esteem of virtue.

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weathers of Time. new Nobility is but the Acl of Power;16 But Ancient Nobility is the Act of Time.17 Those that are first raifed to Nobility, 18 are commonly more Vertuous, 19 but leffe Innocent, then their Defcendants: For there is, rarely, any Rifing, 20 but by a Commixture, of good and euill Arts. But it is Reafon, the Memory of their vertues, remaine to their Posterity; And their Faults die with themselues. Nobility of Birth, commonly abateth Industry: And he that is not industrious, enuieth him, that is. Besides, Noble perfons, cannot goe much higher: And he that standeth at a flav, when others rife, can hardly auoid Motions of Enuy. the other fide, Nobility extinguisheth the passiue Enuy, from others towards them;21 Because they are in poffession of 22 Honour.

²⁰ Rising. Ad Honores, to honours.

From others towards them. Omitted in the Latin.

²² In possession of. In Possessione nati, 'born in possession ot.'

Certainly Kinges that have able Men of theire Nobi-

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Certainely Kings that haue able men of their Nobilitve shall finde ease in lity, shal find ease in ymploying them, and a imploying them; and a better flyde in theire busi- better slid in to their busines; for People naturally nesse: For people naturally bend to them, as borne in bend to them, as borne in fome forte to commaunde. fome fort to command.





Able. Prudentes et capaces, 'wise and able.'
 Finde ease. Omitted in the Latin.
 In imploying them. Si eos fotissimum adhibeant. 'if they employ them chiefly.

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Certainly Kings, that haue Able23 men of their Nobility. shall finde ease24 in imploying them;25 And a better Slide26into their Bufineffe: For People naturally bend to them, 27 as borne in fome fort to Command.



26 Better Slide, &c. Negotia sua nollius fluere sentient, 'will find their business flow easier.

27 Them. Hujusmodi Procees, nobles of this kind.

Harleian MS. 5106.

14. Of Goodnes and Goodnes of Aature.



Take Goodnes in this fence; The affecting of the Weale of Men:

which is that the Gracians call Philanthropia; for the word Humanitie, (as it is vfed) it is a litle to light to expresse it; Goodnes I call the habite, and Goodnes of Nature, the Inclinacion; This of all vertues is the greatest, being the Character of the *Deitie*. and without it Man is a bufie, mischevous wretched thing, noe better then a kind of Vermyne. Goodnes aunsweares to the Theologicall vertue. Charitie. and admittes not excesse. but errour.

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> a Of Goodnesse, and goodnes of Aature.



Take goodnesse in this fence, the affecting of the Weale of men,

which is, that the Gracians call Philanthropia; for the word humanitie (as it is vfed) it is a little too light to expresse it. Goodnesse I call the habite; and goodneffe of Nature, the inclina-This of all vertues. is the greatest: being the character of the Deitie; and without it, man is a busie, mischieuous, wretched thing: no better then a kind of vermine. Goodneffe answers to the Theologicall vertue Charity. and admits not excesse. but error.

FE. Variations in posthumous Latin Edition of 1638.

Affecting. Affectus, qui Hominum Commoda studeat, et bene velit:
 'affection, which studies and wishes well to the weal of men.'
 Light. Levius atque angustius, 'too light and narrow.'
 Habit. Affectum, et Habitum, 'affection and habit.'

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British Museum Copy.

13. Of Goodnesse and Goodnesse of Aature.



Take Goodneffe in this Senfe, the affecting1 of the Weale of Men.

which is that the Grecians call Philanthropia: And the word Humanitie (as it is vfed) is a little too light,2 to expresse it. Goodnesse I call the Habit,3 and Goodneffe of Nature, the Inclina-This of all Vertues, and Dignities of the Minde. is the greatest; being the Character4 of the Deitie: And without it, Man⁵ is a Busie, Mischieuous, Wretched Thing; No better then a Kinde of Vermine. Goodneffe answers to the Theologicall Vertue Charitie, and admits no Excesse. but Errour.

The defire of Power in Excesse, caused the Angels to fall;6 The defire of Knowledge in Excesse, caused Man to fall; But in Charity, there is no Excesse; Neither can Angell, or Man, come in danger by it. The Inclination to Goodneffe, is imprinted deepely in the

¹ Character. Adumbrata quædem Effigies, et Character: 'a sort of shadowed likeness and character,'

Man. Homo Animalis, 'the animal man.'
 Caused to fall. Calo deturbavit; 'thrust down from heaven.' 7 Caused Man to fall Paradiso expulit; 'drove out of Paradise.'

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The Italians have an vngracious proverbe Tanto buon che val niente, So good that he is good for Nothinge, and one of the Doctors of Italy Nicholas Matchiauell had the confidence to putt in writing almost in plaine termes, that the Christian faith had given vp good Men in praye, to those that are tyrannicall, and vniust; which he fpake because indeed there was never Lawe, or sect, or opinion did so much magnifie Goodnes as the Christian Religion doth. Therefore to avoyd the Scandall, and the danger both, it is good

The Italians, haue an vngracious prouerbe, Tanto buon, che valmiente: So good, that he is good for nothing. And one of the Doctors of Ftalie, Nicholas Machiauel had the confidence to put in in writing, almost in plaine termes; That the Christian faith had given vp good men in prev, to those that are tyrannicall and vniust; which hee fpake, because indeed there was neuer law, nor fect, or opinion, did fo much magnifie goodnes, as the Christian religion doth. Therefore to auoid the fcandall, and the danger both; it is good to take knowledge of the to take knowledge of the

12 Waggishnesse. Omitted in the Latin.

Issue not, Benefaciendi Materia, aut Occasione, destituta, non inveniat, quo se exerceat in Homines, 'having no matter or occasion of doing good, it does not find a means of working upon men.'

⁹ Cruell. Sava et fera, 'cruel and savage.'
10 Christian Boy. Aurifex quidam Venetus, 'a Venetian goldsmith.'
11 Stoned. Vix furorem Populi effugerit, 'scarcely escaped the fury of

the people.'

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Nature of Man: In fo much, that if it iffue not8 towards Men, it will take vnto Other Liuing Creatures: As it is feen in the Turks, a Cruell⁹ People, who neuertheleffe, are kinde to Beafts, and give Almes to Dogs, and Birds: In fo much, as Busbechiusa reporteth; A Chriftian Boy10 in Constantinople, had liked to have been floned, 11 for gagging, in a waggishnesse, 12 a longe Billed Fowle. Errours, indeed, in this vertue of Goodneffe, or

Charity, may be committed.

The Italians have an vngracious Prouerb: Tanto buon che val niente: So good, that he is good for nothing. And one of the Doctors of Italy,13 Nicholas Macciauel, had the confidence to put in writing, almost in plaine Termes: That the Christian Faith, had given vp Good 14 Men, in prey, to those, that are Tyrannicall, and vniuft.b Which he fpake, because indeed there was neuer Law, or Sect, or Opinion, did fo much magnifie Goodnesse, as the Christian Religion doth. Therfore to aucid the Scandall, and the Danger15both; it is good to take knowledge, of the

^a Augier de Ghislien, Seigneur de Busbecq. [b. 1522—d. 28 Oct. 1592] German ambassador to Turkey, wrote Legationis Turcicæ epistolæ quatuor, first published entire at Paris in 1589. The above circumstance is narrated in Letter III. (b. 141. Ed. 1595), dated Constantinople. Calendis Iunij. 1560.
^b Machiavelli. Discorsi sopra la prima Deca di Tito Livio. ii. 2.

 ¹³ One of the Doctors of Italy. Omitted in the Latin.
 14 Good. Probos et innocentes, 'good and harmless.'
 15 Danger. Periculi Zotunet Minas, 'the stroke and the threats of danger'

errours of an habite fo excellent. Seeke the good of other Men, but bee not in bondage to theire faces, or fancies, for that is but facilitye, and which taketh an honest minde Prifoner. Neither give thou Æ fops Cock a gemme, who would be better pleafed and happier, if he had had a Barley corne. The Example of God teacheth the leffon He fendes rayne, and maketh his Sun to shine vpon the just and vniust, but he doth not rayne wealth, nor Shynehonours, and vertues vppon Men equallye; Common benefittes are to be communicate with all, but peculiar benefittes with choife. And beware how in makeing the pourtraiture, thou breakest the patterne: For Divinitye maketh the love of ourfelves the patterne, the love of our Neighbours, but the pourtraiture. Sell all thou hast. and give it to the poore and

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errors of an habite for excellent. Seek the good of other men, but be not in bondage to their faces or fancies: for that is but facility, and foftneffe: which taketh an honest minde prisoner. Neither giue thou Æfops Cocke a who would better pleased and happier. if he had had a Barly The example God teacheth the leffon He fendeth raine, and maketh his funne to shine vpon the just. and vniust; but hee doth not raine wealth, shine honour and vertues vpon men equally. Common benefits are to bee communicate with all, but peculiar benefits choife. And beware how in making the portraiture, thou breakest the patterne. For Divinitie maketh the loue of ourfelues the patterne, the loue of our neighbours but the Portraiture. Sell all thou haft and give it to the poore, and

¹⁶ Errours. Errores, qui nos a recto tam insignis Habitus tramite, transvorsos agant, 'the errors which drive us from the straight path of so excellent a habit.'

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Errours. 16 of an Habit, fo excellent. Seeke the Good of other Men, but be not in bondage, to their Faces, or Fancies; For that is but Facilitie, or Softnesse; which taketh an honest Minde Prifoner. Neither giue thou Æ fops Cocke a Gemme, who would be better pleased, and happier, if he had had a Barly Corne. The Example of God teacheth the Leffon truly: He fendeth his Raine, and maketh his Sunne to shine, vpon the Iust, and Vniust; a But hee doth not raine Wealth, nor shine Honour, and Vertues. vpon Men equally. Common benefits, are to be communicate with all; But peculiar Benefits, with choice.17 And beware, how in making the Portraiture, thou breakest the Patterne: For Diuinitie maketh the Loue of our Selues the Patterne; The Loue of our Neighbours but the Portraiture. Sell all thou hast, and give it to the poore, and

⁶ Matt. xxv. 45.

¹⁷ Choice. Paucis, et cum delectu, 'to a few, and with choice.

followe me, but fell not all thou haft, except thou come, and followe me: that is, except thou have a vocacion, wherein thou maiest doe as much good with litle meanes, as with great; For otherwise in feeding the streames, thou dryest the fountaine. Neither is there onely a habite of Goodnes directed by right reason; but there is in some Men, euen in Nature a disposicion towardes it: as on the other fide there is a naturall Malignity; For there bee that in theire nature doe not affect the good of others. The lighter forte of Malignitye tourneth but to a Crosnes, or aptnes frowardnes. or to oppose, or difficilenes, or the like, but the deeper forte to envye and meere mischeif.

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follow me: but fell not all thou haft, except thou come and follow me: that is, except thou have a vocation, wherein thou maiest doe as much good with little meanes, as with great: For otherwise in feeding the stremes, thou driest the fountaine. Neither is there onely a habite of goodnesse, directed by right reason: but there is in fome men, euen in nature, a disposition towards it: as on the other fide, there is a naturall malignity. For there bee that in their nature doe not affect the good of others: the lighter fort of malignitie, turneth but to a croffenesse, or frowardnesse, or aptnesse to oppose, or difficilnesse, or the like: but the deeper fort, to enuie and meere mischief.

There be manie their practize to bring Men their practife to bring men

There be many that make it Mifanthropi, that make it

Ingenii proprii Instinctu, 'by the instinct of their nature.'
Gravius . . atque altius, 'The more serious and deeper.' 18 Nature. 19 Deeper.

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follow mee. But fell not all thou haft, except thou come, and follow mee; That is, except thou haue a Vocation, wherin thou maist doe as much good, with little meanes, as with great: For otherwise, in feeding the Streames, thou drieft the Fountaine. Neither is there only a Habit of Goodneffe, directed by right Reason; but there is, in fome Men, euen in Nature, a Disposition towards it: As on the other fide, there is a Naturall Malignitie. For there be, that in their Nature, 18 doe not affect the Good of Others. The lighter Sort of Malignitie, turneth but to a Crofnesse, or Frowardnesse, or Aptnesse to oppose, or Difficilnesse, or the like; but the deeper19 Sort, to Enuy, and meere

Mischiefe. Such Men, in other mens Calamities, are, as it were, in season, and are euer on the loading Part; Not so good as the Dogs, that licked *Lazarus* Sores; but like Flies, that are still buzzing, vpon any Thing that is raw; 1

Mifanthropi, that make it their Practife, to bring Men,

⁶ Mark x. 21.

²⁰ On the loading Part. Easque semper aggravant, 'and always increase hem.'
21 Raw. Cruda quague et excoriata, 'what is raw and excoriated.'

IV.

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to the Boughe, and yet have never a Tree for the purpofe in theire Gardens;

Such disposicions are the very errours of humaine Nature, and vet they are the fittest tymber to make great Pollitiques of, like to knee-tymber that is good for Shipps that are ordained to be toffed: but not for building houses, that shall stand firme.

to the bough, and yet haue neuer a tree for the purpose in their gardens, as Timon had. Such dispositions are the very errors of humane nature: and yet they are the fittest timber to make great Politiques of; like to knee-timber that is good for shippes that are ordained to be toffed, but not for building houses that shall stand firme.

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²² Such dispositions. Ingenia ita disposita, non injuria vocare licet.
'natures thus disposed may be not unjustly called.'
23 Errours. Vonicas et Carcinomata. 'boils and cancers.'
24 Great Politiques. Mercurii Politicii; 'Mercurial politicians.'
25 Strangers. Hospites et Peregrinos. 'strangers and foreigners.'

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to the Bough; And yet haue neuer a Tree, for the purpose, in their Gardens, as Timon had. Such Dispositions, 22 are the very Errours23 of Humane Nature: And yet they are the fittest Timber. to make great Politiques24 of: Like to knee Timber, that is good for Ships, that are ordained, to be toffed: But not for Building houses, that shall stand firme.

The Parts and Signes of Goodneffe are many. If a Man be Gracious, and Curteous to Strangers, 25 it shewes, he is a Citizen of the World; And that his Heart, is no Island, cut off from other Lands; but a Continent, that joynes to them. If he be Compassionate, towards the Afflictions of others, it shewes26 that his Heart is like the noble Tree, that is wounded it felfe, when it giues the Balme. If he eafily Pardons and Remits Offences, it shews, that his Minde is planted aboue Injuries; So that he cannot be shot.27 If he be Thankfull for fmall Benefits, it shewes, that he weighes Mens Mindes, and not their Trash. But aboue all, if he have St. Pauls Perfection, that he would wish to be an Anathema from Christ, for the Saluation of his Brethren. it shewes much of a Diuine Nature,28 and a kind of Conformity with Christ himselfe.



Shewes. Nobilitat, 'ennobles.'
 Be shot. Supra Injuriarum Jactum et Tela, 'above the reach and the weapons of injury'

²⁸ Divine Nature. Proxime illum accedere ad Naturam divinam, 'that he approaches very near to the Divine nature.

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Harleian MS. 5106.

5. Of Beautie.



Ertue is like a rich stone, best plaine fett. And fuerlie vertue is

best fett in a body that is comelie though not of delicate features, and that hath rather dignitye of presence, then beawtie of aspect. Neither is it almost feene, that verie beautifull perfons are beautiful perfons otherwife of great vertue; then vertue.

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24. Of Beauty.



Ertue is like a rich stone, best plain fet: and furely vertue is

best fet in a body that is comely though not of delicate features; and that hath rather dignity of prefence, then beauty of aspect. Neither is it almost feene, that otherwife of great vertue; as if nature were rather as if nature were rather busie not to erre, then in busie not to erre, then in laboure to produce excel- labour to produce excellencye; And therefore they | lency. And therefore they prove accomplished, but proue accomplished, but not of great fpiritt; And not of great fpirit; and fludie rather behaujour, fludy rather behaujour then vertue.

In beautie that of favour In Beautie, that of fauour is more then that of collour, is more then that of colour; and that of decent and and that of decent and

VI. Variations in posthumous Latin Edition of 1638.

¹ Of Delicate Features. Delicato, 'delicate.' 2 Presence. Aspectus, 'of aspect.' 8 Aspect. Omitted in the Latin.

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British Museum Copy.

43. Of Beantp.



Ertue is like Rich Stone, best plaine fet: And furely Vertue is

a Body, that is best in though not of comely. Delicate Features: And that hath rather dignity of Prefence,2 then Beauty of Afpect.3 Neither is it almost feene, that very Beautifull Perfons, otherwife of great Vertue; As if Nature, were rather Busie not to erre, then in labour,4 to produce Excellency. And therefore, they proue Accomplished,5 but not of great Spirit; And Study rather Behauiour. then Vertue: But this

holds not alwaies; For Augustus Casar, Titus Vespafianus, Philip le Belle of France, Edward the Fourth of England, Alcibiades of Athens, Ifmael the Sophy6 of Perfia, were all High and Great Spirits; And yet the most Beautifull Men of their Times.8

In Beauty, that of Fauour,9 is more then that of Colour. And that of Decent and

Labour. Omitted in the Latin.
Accomplished. Conversationibus apti, 'fit for intercourse.'

⁶ Sophy. Omitted in the Latin.
7 High and Great Spirits. Viri prorsus magni, 'very great men.
8 Of their Times. Omitted in the Latin.

[·] Fauour. Venustas, 'comeliness.'

⁰

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gracious mocion, more then that of favour. That is the best part of beauty which a picture cannott expresse, noe nor the first fight of the life; and there is noe excellent Beautie, that hath not fome strangenes in the proporcions. A man cannot tell whether Appelles or Albert Durere were the more trifler: Whereof the one would Parfonage Geometricall proporcions, the other by takeing the best partes out of divers faces to make one excellent. Such parfonages I thinke would please noe bodye, but the painter. Not but that made them. I thinke a Painter may make a better face then ever was: But he must doe it by a kinde of felicity (as a Musition, that maketh an excellent ayre in Mufick) and not by rule.

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gratious motion, more then that of fauour. is the best part of beauty which a picture cannot expresse: no nor the first fight of the life: and there is no excellent beauty, that hath not fome strangeneffe in the proportions. A man cannot tell whether Apelles or Albert Durere were the more trifler. Whereof one the would make a personage Geometrical proportions, the other by taking the best parts out of divers faces, to make one excellent. Such personages I thinke would please no body, but the Painter that made them. Not but I thinke a Painter may make a better face then euer was: But heemust doe it by a kinde of felicity. (as a Musitian that maketh an excellent aire in Mufick) and not by rule.

¹⁰ Motion. Oris et Corporis motus, 'motion of the face and body.

¹¹ Personages. Effigies, 'images.'
12 That made them. Omitted in the Latin.
13 Was. In vivis fuit, 'was in life.'
14 Felicity. Felicitate quadam, et casu, 'by a kind of felicity and chance.'

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Gracious Motion. 10 more then that of Fauour. That is the best Part of Beauty, which a Picture cannot expresse: No nor the first Sight of the Life. is no Excellent Beauty. that hath not some Strangeneffe in the Proportion. A Man cannot tell, whether Apelles, or Albert Durer. were the more Trifler: Whereof the one would make a Perfonage Geometricall Proportions: The other, by taking the peft Parts out of divers Faces, to make one Excellent. Such Perfonages, 11 I thinke, would pleafe no Body, but the Painter, that made them. 12 Not but I thinke a Painter, may make a better Face, then euerwas:13 But hemust doe it, by a kinde of Felicity,14 (As a Musician that maketh an excellent Avre in Muficke)15 And not by Rule.16

A Man shall see Faces, that if you examine them, Part by Part, you shall finde neuer a good; 17 And yet all together doe well.

¹⁵ Excellent Ayre in Musicke. Cantus, 'melody.'

Rule. Regulis Artis, 'rules of art.'
 Finde neuer a good. Vix unam reperies quam separatim probes, 'you shall scarcely find one that you will approve of separately,

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Yf it be true that the principall part of Beautie is in decent mocion. Certainly it is no mervaile, though persons in yeeres feeme manie tymes more ami-Pulchrorum Auable. tumnus bulcher. For noe youth can be comely, but by pardon and by confidering the youth, as to make vpp the comelynes. Beautie is as fommer fruites which are easie to corrupt, and cannott last: and for the most part it makes a diffolute vouth. and an age a litle out of countenance; But yet certainlie againe if it light well, it maketh vertues shyne, and vices blushe.

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If it bee true that the principall part of beautie is in decent motion; certainely it is no maruell, though persons in yeeres feeme many times more able Pulchrorum Autumnus pulcher. For no youth can be comely, but by pardon, and confidering the youth, as to make vp the comlinesse. Beauty is as fommer fruits, which are easie to corrupt, and cannot last: and for the most part, it makes a diffolute youth, and an age a little out of countenance: But yet certainly againe, if it light well it maketh vertues shine, and vices blush.





¹⁸ More Amiable. Junioribus amabiliores, 'more amiable than younge persons.'

¹⁹ Before Pulchrorum. Secundum illud Euripiuis, 'according to the saying of Euripides.'

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If it be true, that the Principall Part of Beauty, is in decent Motion, certainly it is no maruaile, though Perfons in Yeares, feeme many times more Amiable: 18 19 Pulchrorum Autumnus pulcher: a For no Youth can be comely,20 but by Pardon, and confidering the Youth, as to make vp the comelinesse. Beauty is as Summer-Fruits, which are easie to corrupt, and cannot last: And, for the most part, it makes a diffolute Youth, and an Age a little out of countenance:21 But yet certainly againe, if it light well, it maketh Vertues shine, and Vices blush.



^a The autumn of beautiful persons is beautiful. A saying of Euripides, preserved in Plutarch's Alcibiades. i. 5.
"Euripides would say of persons that were beautifull, and yet in some yeeres; In faire bodies, not only the Spring is pleasant, but also the Autumne." Lord Bacon's Apophth. No. 145. Ed. 1625.

²⁰ After comely. Per omnia, 'in everything.'

Out of countenance. Sero panitentem. 'repenting too late.'

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Harleian MS. 5106.

6. Of seeminge wise.



hath beene an that opinion. the French are wifer then they

feeme, and the Spaniards feeme wifer then they are. But howfoever it bee betwene Nacions, Certainly it is foe betweene Man, and Man. For as the Appostle faieth of Godlines. Having a shew of Godlines, but denying the power thereof Soe certainly there are in pointe of wifedome, and fufficiency, that doe nothing, or litle verie folemlye. Magno conatu nugas. is a ridiculous thing, and fitt for a Satyre to persons of Judgement, to fee what fhiftes theis Formalists have, and what perspectiues to make superficies, to feeme body, that hath depth and bulk. Some are fo close, and referved, as they will not shewe theire

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20. Of Seeming wise.



hath beene an opinion, that the French are wifer then they

feeme, and the Spaniards feem wifer than they are: But howfoeuer it be between Nations, certainely it is fo between Man and Man. For as the Apostle faith of godlineffe: Hauing a shew of godlinesse, but denying the power thereof; So certainlie there are in point of wifdome and fufficiencie, that doe nothing or little verie folemnly; Magno conatu nugas. is a ridiculous thing, and fit for a Sature to persons of judgement, to fee what fhifts these formalists haue, and what perspectiues to make Superficies to feeme body, that hath depth and bulke. Some are fo close, and referued, as they will not shew their

VI. Variations in posthumous Latin Edition of 1638.

¹ TITLE. De Prudentia Apparente, 'of seeming wisdom.'
2 In Points of Wisedome, and Sufficiency. Cum Prudentes minime, 'though they are not at all wise.'

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British Museum Copy.

26. Ot Seeming wise.



T hath been an Opinion, that the *French* are wifer then they

feeme; And the Spaniards feeme wifer then they are. But howfoeuer it be between Nations, Certainly it is fo between Man and Man. For as the Apostle faith of Godlinesse; Hauing a shew of Godlineffe, but denying the Power thereof; a So cer tainly, there are in Points of Wifedome, and Sufficiency,2 that doe Nothing or Little, very folemnly; Magno conatu Nugas.b It is a Ridiculous Thing, and fit for a Satyre, to Perfons of Iudgement, to fee what fhifts³ these Formalists haue, and what Prospectiues, to make Superficies to feeme Body, that hath Depth and Bulke.4 Some are fo Close and Referued.5 as they will not shew their

a 2 Tim. iii. 5.

^{2 1} m. n. 5. b Magno conatu magnas nugas dixerit, 'with great effort she uttered great trifles.' Terence. Heauton. iv. 1.

³ Shifts. In quot Formas se vertant, 'into how many forms they turn themselves.'

⁴ Bulke. Dimensionem Solidi, 'the bulk of a solid body.

⁵ Reserved. In se declarando parci, 'reserved in declaring themselves.'

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wares, but by a darke light, and feeme alwaies to keepe back fomewhat, and when they knowe within themfelves, they fpeake of that they doe not well knowe. would nevertheles feeme to others to knowe of that which they may not well fpeake. Some helpe themfelves with countenance. and gesture, and are wife by fignes, as Cicero faieth of Pifo, that when he aunfweared him, hee fetched one of his browes vp to his forehead, and bent the other downe to his Chinne; respondes altera ad frontemfublato, altero ad mentem* depresso supercilio, crudelitatem tibi non placere. Some thinke to beare it by fpeaking a great word, and being peremptorye, and will goe on, and take by admittance that which they cannot make good. Some whatfoever is beyond theire reach they will feeme to dispife, or make light of, as impertinent or curious, and fo IV. 1612. æt. 52.

wares, but by a darke light; and feeme alwaies to keepe back fomewhat; and when they know within themfelues, they fpeake of that they doe not well know: would neuertheleffe feeme to others, to know of that which they may not well fpeake: Some helpe themfelues with countenance and gesture, and are wife by fignes, as Cicero faith of Pifo, that when he anfwered him, he fetched one of his brows vp to his forehead, and bent the other downe to his chinne: Respondes altero ad frontem fublato, altero ad mendepresso supercilio, crudelitatem tibi non placere. Some thinke to beare it by fpeaking a great word, and being peremptory, and will goe on and take by admittance that which they cannot make good. Some, whatfoeuer is beyond their reach, they will feeme to despife or make light of, as impertinent or curious: and fo

^{*} A clerical error for mentum.

⁶ Keepe backe. Viderivolunt, plus significare, quam loqui, 'wish to seem to mean more than they say.'

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Wares, but by a darke Light: And feeme alwaies to keepe backe6fomewhat: Andwhen they know within themfelues, they speake of that they doe not well know, would neuertheleffe feeme to others, to know of that which they may not well7 fpeake. Some helpe themfelues with Countenance, and Gesture, and are wife by Signes; As Cicero faith of Pifo, that when he anfwered him, he fetched one of his Browes, vp to his Forehead, and bent the other downe to his Chin : Respondes, altero ad Frontem fublato, altero ad Mentum depresso Supercilio; Crudelitatem tibi non placere.a Some thinke to beare it, by Speaking a great Word, and being peremp tory; And goe on, and take by admittance that, which they cannot make good. Some, whatfoeuer is beyond their reach, will feeme to defpife or make light of it, as Impertinent or Curious; And fo

^a You answer-with one eyebrow lifted to the forehead, and the other lowered to the chin—that cruelty does not please you. Cicero. In L. C. Pisone, vi.

Well. Tuto, 'safely.'

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would have theire Ignorance feeme Iudgement. Some are never without a difference, and commonly by amuzing Men with a fubtiltve, blaunch the matter; of whom Gellius faieth. Hominem delirum qui verminutiis. frangit pondera, of which kind also *Plato* in his *Pro*tagoras bringeth in Prodicus in fcorne, and maketh him make a fpeach that confifteth of diffinctions from the begininge to the end: But generally fuch Men in all deliberacions find ease to be of the Nagative fide, and affect a creditt to object, and foretell difficultnes; Ffor when proposicions are denied. there is an end of them: but if they be allowed, it requireth a new worke: which false pointe of wifedome is the bane of Busi-To conclude there is noe decaying Merchaunt, or inward Begger,

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would have their Ignorance feeme iudgement. are neuer without a difference, and commonly by amufing men with a fubtilty, blanch the matter. Of whom Gelius faith; Hominem delirum, qui verborom minutiis frangit pondera. Of which kinde also. *Plato* in his *Pro*tagoras bringeth in Prodicus in fcorne, and maketh him a fpeech that confifteth of diftinctions from the beginning the end. Generally, fuch men in all deliberations. finde eafe to be of the Negative fide, and affect a credit to object and fore tell difficulties. For when propositions are denied, there is an end of them. but if they bee allowed, it requireth a new worke; which false point of wifedome, is the bane of bufi-To conclude, there nesse. is no decaying chant, or inward begger, hath fo manie trickes to hath fo many tricks to

⁸ Would haue. Inscitian suam obtendunt, 'conceal their ignorance.'
9 Iudgement. Yudicio limato, 'with a show of refined judgment.'
10 Men. Hominum Ingenia, 'ment's minds.'
11 Blanch the matter. Rem pretervehuntur, 'slip the matter by.'
12 Speech. Sermonem integrum, 'entire speech.'
13 Finde ease. Libenter se applicant, 'willingly apply themselves to.'
14 Difficulties. Scrupulis et Difficultatibus, 'scruples and difficulties.'

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would haue8their Ignorance feeme Iudgement.9 Some are neuer without a difference, and commonly by Amufing Men¹⁰ with a Subtilty, blanch the matter:11 Of whom A. Gellius a faith: Hominem delirum, qui Verborum Minutijs Rerum frangit Pondera.a Of which kinde also, Plato in his Protagoras bringeth in Prodicus, in Scorne, and maketh him make a Speech,12 that confisteth of distinctions from the Beginning to the End. Generally, Such Men in all Deliberations. finde ease¹³ to be of the Negative Side; and affect a Credit, to obiect and foretell Difficulties:14 For when propositions are denied, there is an End of them; But if they be allowed, it requireth a New Worke: which false Point of Wifedome, is the Bane of Businesse. To conclude, there is no decaying Merchant, or Inward Beggar, 15 hath fo many Tricks, to

^a [Lit. An insane man who breaks the weight of things with fineness of words.] A mistaken quotation as to the Author. It is from Quintillian, who, referring to Seneca, says; Si rerum pondera minutissimæ sententis non fregisset, consensu potius eruditorum quam puerorum amore comprobaretur, 'If he had not broken the weight of things with most minute sentences, he would have been honoured rather by the unanimous approval of the learned, than by the admiration of boys.' Inst. x. 1.

¹⁸ Inward Beggar. Decoctor Rei familiaris occultus, 'hidden spendthrift of his family property.'

III. 1607-12. æt. 47-52. vphold the creditt of theire Wealth, as these empty persons have to mainteine the Creditt of theire sufficiencye.

IV. 1612. æt. 52. vphold the credit of their wealth, as these emptie persons have to maintaine the credit of their sufficiency.





 ¹⁶ Empty. Vera Prudentia destituti 'destitute of true wisdom.'
 17 Sufficiency. Prudentia, 'wisdom.'

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vphold the Credit of their wealth, as these Empty¹⁶ persons haue, to maintaine the Credit of their Suffi-

ciency.¹⁷ Seeming Wife¹⁸-men may make shift to get Opinion: But let no Man choose them for Employment; ¹⁹ For certainly, you were better take for Businesse, a Man somewhat Absurd, then ouer Formall.



18 Seeming Wise. Hac prudentia praditi, 'endowed with this wisdom.' 19 Employment. Ad Negotia grave i tractional, 'to manage important business.' III. 1607-12. æt. 47-52.

Harleian MS. 5106.

9. Of Ambition.



Mhition is like Choler which is an humour that maketh

active, earnest, full of alacrity, and stirringe, if it be not stopped. But if it be stopped, and cannott have way, it becometh Adust, and thereby maligne and venemous. So ambitious Men if they find the way open of theire ryfinge and still gett forward, they are rather busie then daungerous; but if they be checked in theire defieres, they become fecretly discontent, looke vpponn Men and matters with an evill Eye, and are best pleased when thinges goe backward: which is the worst property that can bee in a feruante of a Prince, or State. There fore it is good for Princes, if they vse ambitious Men. to handle it foe, as they be

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22. Of Ambition.



Mbition is like choler; which is an humor that maketh

active, earnest, full of alacrity and flirring, if it be not flopped. But if it be stopped, and cannot have his way, it becommeth a dust, and thereby maligne and venemous. ambitious men if they finde the way open for their rifing, and still get forward; they are rather bufie then dangerous: but if they be checked in their they become fecretly discontent, looke voon men, and matters with an euill eie. and are best pleased when things goe backward: which is the worst propertie that can be in a feruant ofa Prince, or State. Therfore it is good for *Princes*, if they vse ambitious men to handle it fo, as they be ftill progressive, and not stil progressive, and not

FF. Bariations in posthumous Latin Edition of 1638.

¹ Adust. Adusta, 'inflamed.'
2 Way Open. Repulsas non patiantur, 'do not suffer repulses.'
3 Rising. Ambitu et Petitione, 'rising and desire.'

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British Museum Copy.

36. Of Ambition.



Mhition is like Choler; Which is an Humour, that maketh MenAc-

tiue, Earnest, Full of Alacritie, and Stirring, if it be not stopped. But if it be stopped, and cannot have his Way, it becommeth Adust,1 and thereby Maligne and Venomous. So Ambitious Men, if they finde the way Open² for their Rifing,3 and still get forward, they are rather Busie then Dangerous; But if they be check't in their defires.4 they become fecretly discontent,5 and looke voon Men and matters, with an Euill Eve: And are best pleased, when Things goe backward: Which is the worst Propertie, in a Seruant of a Prince or State. Therefore it is good for Princes, if they vie Ambitious Men, to handle it fo, as they be still Progressive, and not

⁴ After desires. Et subinde frustrentur, 'and are frequently frustrated.' become secretly discontent. Malevolentiam et Invidiam in Corde fovent, 'they cherish ill-will and envy in their heart.'

Best pleased. In sinu lætantur, 'pleased in their heart.'

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retrograde; which because it cannott bee without inconvenience, it is good not to vie fuch Natures at all. Ffor if they rife not with theire fervice, they will take order to make theire fervice fall with them.

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retrograde: which because it cannot bee without inconuenience; it is good not to vie fuch natures at all. For if they rife not with their feruice, they will take order to make their feruice fal with them.

⁷ Commanders. Imperatores et Duces, 'commanders and leaders.'
8 Dispenseth. Compensat, 'equalizes.'
9 Pulling downe, &c. Ut prægrandibus alas amputent, et eorum potenam labefactent, 'to cut the wings of persons who are too great, and to tiam labefactent, 'to diminish their power.' 10 Brideled. Franandi et coercendi, 'bridled and restrained.'

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Retrograde: Which because it cannot be without Inconuenience, it is good not to vse such Natures at all. For if they rife not with their Seruice, they will take Order to make their Seruice fall with

them. But fince we have faid, it were good not to vse Men of Ambitious Natures, except it be vpon neceffitie, it is fit we speake, in what Cases, they are of necessitie. Good Commanders in the Warres, must be taken, be they neuer fo Ambitious: For the Vse of their Seruice dispenseth8 with the rest; And to take a Soldier without Ambition, is to pull off his Spurres. There is also great vse of Ambitious Men, in being Skreenes to Princes, in Matters of Danger and Enuie: For no Man will take that Part, except he be like a Seel'd Doue, that mounts and mounts, because he cannot fee about him. There is Vie also of Ambitious Men, in Pulling downe the Greatnesse, of any Subject that ouer-tops: 9 As Tiberius vsed Macro in the Pulling down of Scianus. Since therefore they must be ysed. in fuch Cases, there resteth to speake, how they are to be brideled, 10 that they may be leffe dangerous. 11 There is leffe danger of them, if they be of Meane Birth, then if they be Noble: And if they be rather Harsh¹² of Nature, then Gracious and Popular: And if they be rather New Raifed, 13 then growne Cunning, and Fortified in their Greatnesse. It is counted by some, a weakneffe14 in Princes, to have Fauorites:15 But it is, of

¹¹ Dangerous. Ut minus ab illis impendeat Periculi, 'that less danger Tangerous. O't minus ao iuis impenaear Fericui, 'that le may impend from them.'

14 Harsh. Truciores et asperiores, 'more stern and harsh.'

13 Raised. Honoribus admoti, 'raised to honours.'

14 Weaknesse. Signum injirmi Animi, 'sign of a weak mind.'

15 Fauorites. Gratiosos et Intimos, 'favourites and intimates.'

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Of Ambitions it is the leffe harmefull, the ambition to prevaile in great thinges, then that other to appeare in every thinge. For that breedes confusion, and marres bufineffe.

Of Ambitions, it is the leffe harmefull, the Ambition to preuaile in great things; then that other to appeare in euery thing: For that breedes confusion, and marres bufineffe.

Hee that feeketh to be He that feeketh to be eminent amongest able eminent amongst able

¹⁶ Ambitious Great-Ones. Potentiam nimiam Procerum, aut Magistratuum, 'too great power of nobles or magistrates.

¹⁷ Any Other. Alius aliquis ex Procerbins, 'any other of the nobles.'
18 Proud. Ambitiosos, et protervos, 'ambitious and proud.'
19 Keep Things steady. Oui Partes medias teneant, ne Factiones omnia pessundent: 'to hold a iniddle course, lest factions ruin everything.'
20 Hauing of them Obnoxious to Ruine. Quantum ad ingenerandam illum in Ambitiosis opinionem, at se ruine proximos putent, aique eo modo continentum.' 'as to cerating a continentum.'

contineantur; 'as to creating an opinion in ambitious persons that they are near ruin, and thus restraining them.

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all others, the best Remedy against Ambitious Great-Ones. 16 For when the Way of Pleasuring and Difpleasuring, lieth by the Fauourite, it is Impossible. Any Other 17 should be Ouer-great. Another meanes to curbe them, is to Ballance them by others, as Proud¹⁸ as they. But then, there must be some Middle Counfellours, to keep Things fleady:19 For without that Ballast, the Ship will roule too much. At the least, a Prince may animate and inure fome Meaner Perfons. to be, as it were, Scourges to Ambitious Men. As for the hauing of them Obnoxious to Ruine,20 if they be of fearefull Natures, it may doe well: But if they bee Stout, and Daring, it may precipitate their Defignes,²¹ and proue dangerous. As for the pulling of them downe, if the Affaires require it, and that it may not be done with fafety fuddainly, the onely Way is, the Enterchange continually of Fauours, and Difgraces; whereby they may not know, what to expect; 22 And be, 23 as it were, in a Wood. Of Ambitions, it is leffe

harmefull, the Ambition to preuaile in great Things, then that other, to appeare in euery thing; For that breeds Confusion,24 and

marres Bufineffe. But yet, it is leffe danger, to haue an Ambitious Man, stirring in Businesse, then Great in Dependances.25

He that feeketh to be Eminent amongst Able

²¹ Designes. Conatus et Machinationes, 'endeavours and designs.'

²² What to expect. Unde attoniti et confusi hæreant, nescientes quid expectent, 'whereby they may remain astonished and confused, not knowing what to expect.

Be. Ambulent, 'walk.'
 Confusion. Confusionem Consiliorum, 'confusion of councils'
 Dependances. Gratia et Clientelis, 'favour and following.'

III. 1607-12. æt. 47-52.

Men, hathe a great Taske, but that is ever good for the publique. But hee that plotteth to be the onely figure amongst Ciphers, is the decay of an whole age. Honor hath three thinges in it. The Vantage ground to doe good. The Approache to Kinges, and principall perfons, And the Rayling of a Mans owne Fortune. Hee that bath the best of theis intencions when he aspireth is an honest Man. and that Prince that can difcerne of theis intencions in another that afpireth is a wife Prince. Generally lett Princes, and States chuse such Ministers, as are more fenfible of dewty, then of Ryfing, and fuch as love busines rather vponn conscience, then vponn bravery, and lett them discerne a busie nature, from a willing mind.

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men, hath a great taske: but that is euer good for the publike. But that plots to bee the onely figure amongst Ciphers, is the decay of an whole age. Honour hath three things in it: The vantage ground to doe good; The approach to Kings and principall perfons; And the raifing of a mans owne Fortunes. He that bath the best of these intentions when hee afpireth, as an honest man; and that Prince that can difcerne of these intentions in another that aspireth, is a wife Prince. Generally, let Princes and chuse such ministers, as are more fenfible of duty, then of rifing; and fuch as loue businesse rather vpon conscience, vpon brauery: and let them discerne a busie nature, from a willing minde.





²⁶ Able Men. Strenuos, et Negotiis pares, 'active men and men fit for business.1

²⁷ Plots. Machinatur, ut Viros cordatos deprimat, et, 'plots to depress wise men, and.

Becay. Lues t Calamitas, 'decay and misfortune.'
 Kings. Omitted in the Latin.
 Discerne. Dignoscere et distinguere, 'discern and distinguish.'
 That aspireth. In Servis suis, 'in his servants.'

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Men.26 hath a great Taske; but that is euer good for the Publique. But he that plots, 27 to be the Figure amongst Ciphars, is the decay28 of an whole Age. Honour hath three Things in it: The Vantage Ground to doe good: The Approach to Kings,29 and principall Perfons: And the Raifing of a Mans owne Fortunes. He that hath the best of these Intentions, when he aspireth, is an Honest Man: And that Prince, that can difcerne of thefe Intentions, in Another that afpireth,31 is a wife Prince. Generally, let Princes and States,32 choose such Ministers, as are more fenfible of Duty, then of Rifing; And fuch as loue³³ Bufineffe rather vpon Confcience,34 then vpon Brauery: And let them Difcerne35 aBufie36 Nature, from a Willing37 Minde.



³² States. Omitted in the Latin.

 ³³ Loue. Amplectantur et ament, 'embrace and love.'
 34 Conscience. Conscientia bona, 'good conscience.'
 35 Discerne. Distinguant Principes cum judicio, 'let princes discern with

³⁶ Busie. Quæ sese omnibus Negotiis ingerunt, 'which obtrude themselves into every business.'
37 Willing. Promptum seu alacrem, 'ready or alert.'

III. 1607-12. æt. 47-52.

Harleian MS. 5106.

13. Of Riches.



Cannett call Riches better then the baggage of Vertue

(the Romaine word is better, Impedimenta) For as the Baggage is to an Army, fo is Riches to vertue. It cannott bee spared, nor left behinde; but it hindereth the Marche, yea and the care of it fometymes leeseth, or difturbeth the victorye. Of great Riches there is noe Reall vfe, except it bee in the distribucion, the rest is but conceipt. So faieth Solomon: where much is. there are manie to confume it, and what hath the owner but the fight of it with his eyes! The perfonall good of anie Man cannot reach to feele them. There is a custody of great Riches, or a power of Dole, and Donatiue; or a fame of them. but folid the vſe

IV. 1612. æt. 52.

21. Of Riches.



Cannot call Riches better then the baggage of Vertue;

the Romane word better, Impedimenta: For as the baggage is to an Armie, fo is riches to vertue: It cannot be spared. nor left behinde; but it hindreth the March, vea and the care of it fometimes lofeth or difturbeth the victory. Of great Riches there is no reall vfe, except it bee in the distribution: the rest is So but conceit. Salomon: Where much is. there are many to confume it, and what hath owner but the fight of it with his eies? The perfonall fruition in any man cannot reach to feele great riches; there is a cuftody of them; or a power of Dole and donatiue them; or a fame of them; but no folide vie to the

VI. Variations in posthumous Latin Edition of 1638.

¹ Better. Cognomine magis proprio, 'by a more proper name.'
2 It cannot . March, 'Necessariæ siquidem sunt, sed graves, 'it is necessary but heavy.'

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British Museum Copy.

34. Of Riches.



Cannot call Riches better, then the Baggage of Vertue.

Word Roman better, Impedimenta. as the Baggage is to an Army, fo is Riches to Vertue. It cannot be spared, nor left behinde, but it hindreth the March; 2 Yea, and the care of it, fometimes, lofeth³ or difturbeth the Victory: Of great Riches, there is no Reall Vfe, except it be in the Distribution; The rest is but Conceit. So faith Salomon: Where much is, there are Many to confume it: And what hath the Owner, but the Sight of it. with his Eyes?a The Perfonall Fruition in any Man, cannot reach to feele Great Riches: 4 There is a Custody of them; Or a Power of Dole and Donatiue of them; Or a Fame⁵ of them; But no Solid Vfe to the

a Eccles. v. II.

³ Loseth. Omitted in the Latin.

⁴ Personall Fruition . Riches. Possessio Divitiarum nulla voluptate Dominum perfundit, quantum ad Sensum: 'the possession of rivies does not fill the owner with any pleasure as to sensation.'

⁵ Fame. Fama, et Inflatio, 'fame and puffing up.'

III. 1607-12. æt. 47-52.

Doe you not fee Owner. what fayned prices are fett vpponn litle stones. and rarityes, and what workes of oftentacion are vndertaken, because there mought feeme to be fome vfe of great Riches? But then they may be of vse to buy Men out of Daungers, or troubles; as Salomon fayeth; Riches are as a stronge-houlde, in the imaginacion, of the riche But this is excel-Man. lently expressed, that it is in imaginacion, and not alwaies in fact. Ffor certainely great Riches have fould more men, then they have bought out. Seeke not proud Riches, but fuch as thou mayest gett iustly, foberly, distribute vſe chearefully and leave contentedlye; yet have no abstract, nor Frierly contempt of them, but distinguishe as Cicero faieth well of Rabirius Posthumus; In studio rei amplificanda, apparebat non auaritiæ prædam, fed instrumentum

IV. 1612. æt. 52.

Doe you not fee owner. what fained prifes are fet vpon little flones. and rarities, and what works of oftentation are vndertaken, because there might feeme to bee fome vse of great riches? then they may be of vse to buy men out of dangers or troubles: as Salomon faith; Riches are as a strong hold in the imagination of the rich man. But this is excellently expressed, that it is in Imagination; and not alwaies in fact. For certainly, great riches haue fold more men then they haue bought out. Seeke not proud Riches; but fuch as thou maiest get iustly; vſe foberlie, distribute cheerefully, and leaue contentedly. Yet haue no abstract, nor frierly contempt of them. But distinguish, as Cicero faith well of Rabirius Posthumus: 7n studio rei amplificandæ, apparebat non auaritiæ præfed instrumentum dam

⁶ Works of Ostentation. Inania Opera, ad ostentationem meram, 'vain works, merely for ostentation.'

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Owner. Doe you not fee, what fained Prices, are fet vpon little Stones, and Rarities? And what Works of Oftentation.6 are vndertaken, because there might feeme to be, fome Vie of great Riches? But then you will fay, they may be of vie, to buy Men out of Dangers or Troubles. As Salomon faith; Riches are as a strong Hold, in the Imagination of the Rich Man.a But this is excellently expressed, that it is in Imagination, and not alwaies in Fact. For certainly Great Riches, haue fold more Men, than they haue bought out. Seeke not Proud Riches, but fuch as thou maist get iustly, Víe foberly, Distribute cheerefully, and leaue contentedly. Yet haue no Abstract8 or Friarly9 Contempt of them. But distinguish, as Cicero faith well of Rabirius Posthumus; In studio rei amplificanda, apparebat, non Auaritæ Prædam, sed Instrumentum

a Prov. xviiii, 11.

 ⁷ Proud. Magnas, 'great.'
 8 Abstract. A Seculo abstracti, 'or a man removed from the world.'
 9 Friarly. Instar Monachi, 'like a monk.'

III. 1607-12. æt. 47-52. IV. 1612. æt. 52. bonitati quæri. bonitati quæri.

<sup>Beware. Nec inhia, 'nor gape after.'
Vniust Meanes. Injusticiam it Scelera, 'injustice and crimes.'
Husbandry. Agriculturam, et Lucra Rustica, 'husbandry and the profits of the country.'
Greatest Audits. Maximi Reditus, e Re Rustica, 'the greatest revenues from husbandry.'</sup>

Bonitati, quæri. Hearken alfo to Salomon, and beware 10 of Hasty Gathering of Riches: Qui festinat ad Divitias, non erit infons.b The Poets faigne that when Plutus, (which is Riches.) is fent from Iupiter, he limps, and goes flowly: But when he is fent from Pluto, he runnes, and is Swift of Foot. Meaning, that Riches gotten by Good Meanes, and Iust Labour, pace flowly; But when they come by the death of Others, (As by the Course of Inheritance, Testaments, and the like,) they come tumbling vpon a Man. But it mought be applied likewise to Pluto, taking him for the Deuill. For when Riches come from the Deuill, (as by Fraud, and Oppression, and vniust Meanes, 11) they come vpon Speed. The Waies to enrich are many, and most of them Foule. Parsimony is one of the best, and yet is not Innocent: For it with-holdeth Men, from Workes of Liberality, and Charity. The Improvement of the Ground, is the most Naturall Obtaining of Riches; For it is our Great Mothers Bleffing, the Earths; But it is flow. And vet, where Men of great wealth, doe stoope to husbandry, 12 it multiplieth Riches exceedingly. I knew a Nobleman in England, that had the greatest Audits, 13 of any Man in my Time: A Great Grafier, A Great Sheepe-Mafter, A Great Timber 14 Man, A Great Colliar. A Great Corne-Master, A Great Lead-Man, and so of Iron, and a Number of the like Points of Husbandry. So as the Earth feemed a Sea to him, in respect of the Perpetuall Importation. It was truly observed by One. that Himselfe came very hardly to a Little Riches, and very eafily to Great Riches. For when a Mans Stocke is come to that, that he can expect the Prime of

^a This is spoken by Cicero of Caius Curius, the father of Rabirius Postumus. The passage [Pro C. R. Postumo. 2.] runs thus, Ut in augenda re non avaritie pradam, sed instrumentum bonitati quarere videtur, 'that he seemed in the increase of his property, not to seek a prey for his avarice but a means of doing good.' b Prov. xxviii. 20.

¹⁴ Timber. Silvis, tam cæduis quam grandioribus, 'both underwood and timber.'

IV. III. 1607-12. æt. 47-52. 1612. æt. 52.

15 Prime of Markets. Nus. inarum et Mercatuum Opportunitates the

opportunities of fairs and markets.' 16 Few Mens Money. Quibus. . perpauci admodum Homines apti

16 Few Mens Money. Quibus. perpauci admodum Homines apti sunt, for which few men are ready.
17 Younger. Qui minus Pecunia abundant, who have less money.
18 Ordinary Trades and Vocations. Professionibus, businesses.
19 Good and faire dealing. Probitatem in Negotiando, 'honesty in dealing.'
20 Bargaines. Contractibus majoribus, 'greater bargains.'
21 Necessity. Necessitates et Angustius, necessities and straits.'
22 Broake by to draw them on. In Dannum Dominorum corrumpat, 'corrupt, to the injury of their masters.'
23 Cunningly. Artificiose et autre. 'hy artifices and cunning.'

²³ Cunningly. Artificiose et vafre, 'by artifices and cunning.'
 ²⁴ Crafty and Naught. Merito dannande, 'deservedly to be cou-

denined.

Markets, 15 and ouercome those Bargaines, which for their greatnesse are few Mens Money, 16 and be Partner in the Industries of Younger¹⁷ Men, he cannot but encrease mainely. The Gaines of Ordinary Trades and Vocations, 18 are honest; And furthered by two Things, chiefly: By Diligence; And By a good Name, for good and faire dealing. 19 But the Gaines of Bargaines,20 are of a more doubtfull Nature; When Men fhall waite vpon Others Necessity, 21 broake by Seruants and Instruments to draw them on, 22 Put off Others cunningly²³ that would be better Chapmen, and the like Practifes, which are Crafty and Naught.24 As for the Chopping of Bargaines, 25 when a Man Buies, not to Hold, but to Sell ouer againe, that commonly Grindeth double, both vpon the Seller, and vpon the Buyer. Sharings, doe greatly Enrich, if the Hands²⁶ be well chosen, that are trusted. Vsurv is the certainest Meanes of Gaine, though one of the worst; As that, whereby a Man doth eate his Bread; In fudore vultûs alieni; And befides, doth Plough 27 vpon Sundaies. 28 But yet Certaine though it be, it hath Flawes;29 For that the Scriueners and Broakers, doe valew vnfound Men, to ferue their owne Turne. The Fortune, 30 in being the First in an Invention, or in a Priviledge, doth cause fometimes a wonderfull³¹ Ouergrowth³² in Riches; As it was with the first Sugar Man, 33 in the Canaries: Therefore, if a Man can play the true Logician, to have as

a In the sweat of another's brow.

Chopping of Bargaines. Emptiones, 'purchases.'
 Hands. Quibuscum Societas initur, 'those with whom the partnership is entered into.

<sup>Sentered lind.
Plough. Operari non cessat, 'does not cease to work.'
Sundaies. Sabbatho, 'the Sabbath.' [This is an early (1625) instance of the Sunday being called the 'Sabbath.' Dies Sabbati being our</sup>

aturday.]
²⁹ Flawes. Rimis secretis, 'secret flaws.'
³⁰ The Fortune. Omitted in the Latin.
³¹ Wonderfull. Omitted in the Latin.
³² Ouergrowth. Inundationem, 'overflow.'
⁸² Sugar Man. Sacchari excoctori, 'sugar baker.'

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others, that feeme to despife them, For they despise them: For they despise them, that despaire of them that dispaire of them, and none worfe when they come to them. Be not penny-wife; Riches | Be not penny-wife; Riches have winges, and fome- haue wings; and fometymes they fly away of them- times they fly away of themfelves, fometymes they felues; fometimes they must be sett flying to bring must bee set flying, to bring

Neither trust thou much Neither trust thou much others, that feeme to despife them, and none worfe, when they come to them.

³⁴ Often times: . . Pouerty. Vix Fortunarum Dispendia vitabit, 'will scarcely avoid the waste of his fortune.'

⁸⁵ Not restrained. Lege nulla prohibentur, 'forbidden by no law,'
86 Great Meanes. Viam sternunt facilem, 'have an easy road.'
87 Seruice. Servitium Regum, aut Magnatum, 'services of kings or great persons.'

³⁸ Though it be of the best Rise. Dignitatem quandam habet, 'has some dignity.'

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well Judgement, as Invention, he may do great Matters; especially if the Times be fit. He that resteth vpon Gaines Certaine, shall hardly grow to great Riches: And he that puts all yoon Adventures, doth often times breake, and come to Pouerty:34 It is good therefore, to guard Adventures with Certainties, that may vphold losses. Monopolies, and Coemption of Wares for Refale, where they are not restrained, 35 are great Meanes³⁶ to enrich; especially, if the Partie haue intelligence, what Things are like to come into Request, and so store Himselse before hand. Riches gotten by Seruice, 37 though it be of the best Rife, 38 vet when they are gotten by Flattery, Feeding³⁹ Humours, and other Seruile Conditions, they may be placed amongst the Worst. As for Fishing for Testaments and Executorships (as Tacitus faith of Seneca; Testamenta et Orbos, tanguam Indagine capi; a) It is yet worse; By how much Men submit themselues, to Meaner Persons. then in Service.

Beleeue not much them, that feeme to despife Riches: For they despise them, that despaire of them; And none Worfe,40 when they come to them.41 Benot Penny-wife;42 Riches haue Wings, and fometimes they Fly away of themfelues, fometimes they must be fet Flying to bring

a He took testaments and wardships as with a net. Tacitus, Annales

Feeding. Sese flectendo, 'bending one's self to.'
 Worse. Tenaciores, 'more grasping.'
 Come to them. Ubi incipient ditescere, 'when they begin to grow rich.'

Penny-wise. In Minutiis tenax, 'stingy in small things.'

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in more. Men leave theire riches, either to their kinred, or to the publique, and moderate porcions prosper best in both. Agreat State left to an heire, is as a lure to all the Birdes of pray rounde about. to feize on him, if he bee not the better established in yeares and Iudgement. Likewife glorious guiftes and foundacions are

but the painted Sepulchres of Almes, which soone will putrifie, and corrupt.

Therefore meafure not thie advauncementes by quantity, but frame them by measure; and deferre not Charities till Death: For certainely if a Man weight it rightly, he that doth foe, is rather liberall of another mans, then of his owne.

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Men leaue their in more. riches, either to their kindred, or to the publike: and moderate portions prosper best in both. A great state left to an heire. is as a lure to al the birds of prey round about, to feife on him, if he bee not the better stablished in yeeres and judgement. Likewife glorious gifts. and foundations, are

but the painted Sepulchres of Almes, which foone wil putrifie and corrupt inwardly. Therefore meafure not thy aduancements by quantity, but frame them by measure: and deferre not charities till death: for certainly, if a man weigh it rightly, he that doth fo is rather liberall of another mans. then of his owne.





⁴³ Men. Moribundi, 'men about to die.'
44 Kindred. Liberis, Cognatis, et Amicis, 'children, relatives and friends'
45 Giorious. Gloriose et splendide, 'glorious and splendid.'
46 Gifts. Omitted in the Latin.

⁺⁷ Foundations. Fundationes . . in usus publicos, 'foundations for the public good.'

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in more. Men⁴³ leaue their Riches, either to their Kindred ;44 Or to the Publique: And moderate Portions prosper best in both. Agreat State left to an Heire. is as a Lure to all the Birds of Prey, round about, to feize on him, if he be not the better flablished in Yeares and Iudgement. Likewife Glorious⁴⁵ Gifts⁴⁶

and Foundations, 47 are like Sacrifices without Salt; And

but the Painted48 Sepulchres of Almes, which foone will putrifie, and corrupt inwardly. Therefore, Meafure not thine Aduancements49 by Quantity,50 but Frame⁵¹ them by Measure; And Deferre not Charities⁵² till Death: For certainly, if a Man weigh it rightly, he that doth fo, is rather Liberall of 53 an Other Mans. then of his Owne.



⁴⁸ Painted. Dealbata, 'whitened.
49 Aduancements. Dona, 'gifts.'

⁵⁰ Quantity. Magnitudine . . sed Commoditate, 'by their size, but by their use.

⁵¹ But frame. Et ad debitam Mensuram redigas, 'and reduce them to proper measure.'

Charities. Opera Charitatis, 'works of charity.'
 Liberall of. Donat, 'presents.'

III. 1607-12. æt. 47-52.

Harleian MS. 5106.

17. Of Dispatch.



Ffected difpatch is one of the most dangerous thinges to busi-

nesse that can be. It is like that which the *Phistitians* call pre-digestion, or hastic digestion, which is sure to fill the body full of Crudities, and secrett seedes of diseases. Therefore measure not dispatch by the tymes of sitting, but by the advauncement of the busines.

It is the care of fome onely to Come of fpeedily for the tyme, or to contrive fome false periodes of businesse, because they may feeme men of dispatch. But it is one thing to make shorte by contracting, another by cutting of. And busines so handled by peeces is com-

IV. 1612. æt. 52.

11. Of Dispatch.



Ffected difpatch is one of the most dangerous things to busi-

nesse that can bee. It is like that which the *Physitians* call pre-digestion, or hasty digestion, which is sure to fill the bodie full of crudities and secret seedes of diseases. Therefore measure not dispatch by the times of sitting, but by the aduancement of the businesse.

It is the care of fome onely to come of fpeedily for the time, or to contriue fome false periods of businesse, because they may seeme men of dispatch. But it is one thinge to make short by contracting; an other by cutting off: and businesse so mandled by peeces, is com-

VI. Variations in posthumous Latin Edition of 1638.

¹ TITLE. De Expediendis Negotiis, 'of the despatch of business.'

² Affected Dispatch. Celeritas nimia et affectata, 'excessive and affected speed.'

Grudities. Humoribus crudis, 'crude humours.'
Dispatch Negotiorum Expeditionem, 'the despatch of business.'

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British Museum Copy.

25. Of Dispatch.1



Ffected Difpatch,2 is one of the most dangerous things to Busi-

neffe that can be. It is like that, which the Physicians call Predigestion, or Hasty Disection: which is fure to fill the Body, full of Crudities.3 and fecret Seeds of Therefore, mea-Difeases. fure not Di/patch,4 by the Times of Sitting, but by the Advancement of the

Businesse. And as in Races, it is not the large Stride, or High Lift, that makes the Speed: 5 So in Businesse, the Keeping close to the matter, and not Taking of it too much at once, procureth Difpatch.6

It is the Care of Some, onely to come off fpeedily, for the time; Or to contriue fome false Periods of Bufineffe, because they may feeme Men of Difpatch.8 But it is one Thing, to Abbreuiate9 by Contracting. 10 Another by Cutting off: And Bufinesse so handled at feuerall Sittings

⁵ After Speed. Sed in Motu corundem humiliore, et æquabili; 'but a lower and more even movement of the feet.

⁶ Dispatch. Celevitatem in conficiendo, 'speed in completion.'
7 Come off. Multum conficisse videantur; 'to seem to have done much'
8 Of dispatch. Acres in Negotiis, 'quick in business.'
9 Abbreuiate. Tempori pareere, 'to spare time.

¹⁰ Contracting. Negotium contrahendo, 'contracting the business.'

III. 1607-12. æt. 47-52. IV. whole.

1612. æt. 52. monly protracted in the monly protracted in the whole.

I knewe a Wife Man had it for a bye-word when he fawe Men haften to a Conclusion; Stay a little that wee Maie make an end the fooner.

On the either fide true lifpatch is a rich thing: For tyme is the measure of businesse, as money is of wares. And busines is bought at a deare hand, where there is fmale difpatch.

I knew a wife man had it for a bie=word, when hee faw men haften to a conclusion; Stav a little that wee may make an end the fooner.

On the other fide, true difpatch is a rich thing; For time is the measure of bufineffe, as money is of wares: and bufineffe is bought at a deare hand when there is fmall difpatch.

Give good hearing to those, that give the first informacion in busines, and rather direct them in the beginning, then interrupt them in the contynuaunce of theire speaches. For he that is putt out of his owne order, will goe forwarde, and backwardes, and be more tedious by parcells.

Giue good hearing to those that give the first information in businesse: and rather direct them in the beginning, then interrupt them in the continuance of their fpeeches: For he that is put out of his owne order, will goe forward, and backwards, and be more tedious by parcels,

Men hasten to a conclusion. Festinationem nimiam, 'too much haste.'
 True Dispatch. Vera Celeritas, in expediendis Negotiis, 'true swiftness in despatching business.'
 Small dispatch. Nimia protractio, 'too much time spent.'

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or Meetings, goeth commonly backward and forward, in an vnfteady Manner.

I knew a Wife Man, that had it for a By-word, when he faw Men hasten to a conclusion; 11 Stay a little, that we may make an End

the fooner.

On the other fide, True Dispatch12 is a rich Thing. For Time is the measure of Bufineffe, as Money is of Wares: And Bufineffe is bought at a deare Hand. where there is fmall dif-

patch. 13 The Spartans, and Spaniards, haue been to be noted of Small difpatch; 14 Mi venga la Muerte de Spagna; Let my Death come from Spaine; For then it will be fure to be long in comming.

Giuegood Hearingto those that giue the first Information in Bufineffe¹⁵; And rather direct them in the beginning, then interrupt them in the continuance of their Speeches: for he that is put out of his owne¹⁶ Order, will goe forward and backward, and be

more tedious while he waits vpon his Memory, then

 ¹⁴ Small dispatch. Tarditatis, 'slowness.'
 15 Those that give . . . in Businesse. Quibus primæ in Informatione Negotii, partes demandatæ sunt: 'to whom the first part in giuing information about business is intrusted.'

16 His owne. Quem sibi præstituit, 'which he fixed for himself.'

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then he could have bene at once. But fometymes it is feene that the Moderatour, is more troublesome, then the Actor.

Iteracions are commonly loffe of tyme; but there is no fuch gaine of tyme, as to iterate often the flate of the question: for it chafeth away manie a frivolous speach, as it is Commeing foorth. Long and curious fpeaches are as fitt for dispatche, as a Robe or Mantell with a long travne, is for race. Prefaces and paffages, and excufacions, and other fpeaches of reference to the person, are great wastes of tyme, and thoughe they feeme to proceede of modestie, they are bravery. Yet beware of being to materiall, when there is any impediment, or obstruccion in Mens wills; For preoccupacion ever requireth preface;

like a fomentacion to make the vnguent enter. make the vnguent enter.

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then he could have bin at once. But fometimes it is feene, that the moderator is more troublefome. then the $A\mathcal{E}lor$.

Iterations are commonly loffe of time; but there is no fuch gaine of time, as to iterate often the flate of the question. For it chafeth away many a friuolous speech, as it is comming forth. Long and curious speeches are as fit for difpatch, as a Robe or Mantle with a long traine, is for race. Prefaces, and paffages, and excufations, and other fpeeches of reference to the person, are great wastes of time, and though they feeme to proceede of modesty, they are brauery. Yet beware of being too materiall, when there is any impediment, or obstruction in mens will. For preoccupation euer requireth preface.

like a fomentation

Actor. Oratorem, 'speaker.'
 Friuolous. Prorsus abs re, 'altogether away from the subject.'
 Robe or Mantle, &c. Toga preelonga, Terram verrens, 'a robe too long, sweeping the ground.'
 Passages. Transitiones bellæ, 'pretty transitions.'

1625.

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he could have been, if he had gone on, in his owne courfe. But fometimes it is feene, that the Moderator is more troublefome. then the Actor.17

Iterations are commonly loffe of Time: But there is no fuch Gaine of Time, as to iterate often the State of the Question: For it chafeth away many a Friuolous¹⁸ Speech, as it is comming forth. Long and Curious Speeches, are as fit for Difpatch, as a Robe or Mantle19 with a long Traine, is for Race. faces, and Paffages,20 and Excufations, and other Speeches of Reference to the Person,21 are great wasts of Time; And though they feeme to proceed of Modefty, they are Brauery.22 Yet beware of being too Materiall,23 when there is any Impediment or Obstruction in Mens Wils: For Pre-occupation of Minde, Like a Fomentation²⁴ to

euer requireth preface of Speech;

make the vnguent enter.

²¹ Person. Personam loquentis, 'the person of the speaker.'
22 Brauery. Gloriolæ captatrices, 'to catch a little glory.'
23 Too materiall. Ne in rem ipsam, ab initio, descendas, 'of going too deep into the matter, from the beginning.'
24 Fomentation. Fomentationis ante unguentum, 'fomentation before ar

unguent.

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Above all thinges order, and distribucion

is the life of difpatche, fo as the distribucion be not too fubtile. Ffor he that doth not devide, will never enter well into businesse; and he that devideth to much. will never come out of it clearelye. To chuse tyme is to fave tyme, and an vnfeafonable mocion is but beating the ayre. There be 3 partes of businesse, the preparacion; the debate, or examinacion; and the perfeccion; Whereof, yf you lookefordispatche, lett the midle onely be the worke of Many, and the first and last the worke of few. The proceeding vponn fomewhat conceived in writing doth for the most part facilitate dispatch; Forthoughe it should be whollie reiected, yet that Negative is more pregnant of a direccion, then an indefinite, as ashes are more genertive then duft.

IV. 1612. æt. 52.

Aboue all things, order and distribution

is the life of difpatch: fo as the distribution beenot too fubtill: For he that doth not divide, will neuer enter well into bufineffe; and he that divideth too much will neuer come out of it clearely. To chuse time. is to faue time, and an vnfeafonable motion is but beating the aire. There bee three parts of businesse; the preparation, the debate, or examination, and the perfection. Whereof if you looke for difpatch, let the midle onely be the worke of many, and the first and last the worke of few. The proceeding vpon fomewhat conceiued in writing, doth for the most part facilitate dispatch: For though it should bee wholly reiected, yet that Negative is more pregnant of a direction, then an indefinite; as ashes are more generatiue then duft.

Neuer . . . clearely. Vix, 'hardly.'
 After Beating the Ayre. Et tempore abuti, 'and wasting time.'

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Aboue all things, Order, and Distribution, and Singling out of Parts. is the life of Dispatch; Soas the Distribution be not too fubtill: For he that doth not divide, will neuer enter well into Businesse; And he that divideth too much. will neuer come out of it clearely.25 To chooseTime, is to faue Time; And an Vnfeafonable Motion is but Beating the Avre.26 There be three Parts of Businesse: The Preparation; The Debate, or Examination; And the Perfection. Whereof, if you looke for Difpatch, let the Middle onely be the Worke of Many, and the First and Last the Worke of Few. The Proceeding²⁷ vpon fomewhat conceived in Writing, doth for the most part facilitate Dispatch: For though it should be wholly reiected, yet that Negative is more pregnant of Direction, 28 then an Indefinite; As Ashes are more Generatiue then Duft.

⁻⁻⁻⁻⁻⁻

Proceeding. Procedendi in Negotiis, initium sumere, 'to commence the proceedings in business.'
Direction. Ad Constitu educenda, 'in bringing out counsel'

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Harleian M.S. 5106.

18. Of Deformity.



Eformed perfons are commonly even with nature, For as Na-

ture hath done ill by them, fo doe they by nature, being for the most part, (as the Scripture faieth) voyd of naturall affection, and fo they have theire revenge of nature; Certainely there is a confent betweene the body, and the minde, and wher nature erreth in the one, she in th'other; ventureth Vbi peccat in vno, periclitatur in altero. But because there is in Man an eleccion touching the frame of his Minde, and a necessity in the frame of his body the Starres of naturall inclinacions, are fometymes obscured by the difcipline fun of Therefore it is vertue: good to confider of deformity not as a figne which is more deceiveable.

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25. Of Deformity.



Eformed perfons are commonly euen with nature; for as Na-

ture hath done ill by them. fo doe they by nature. being for the most part (as the Scripture faith) void of naturall affection: and fo they have their reuenge of nature. Certainlie, there is a confent betweene the body and the minde, and where Nature erreth in the one; she ventureth in the other. Vbi peccat iu vno periclitatur in altero. But because there is in man an election touching the frame of his minde, and a neceffitie in the frame of his body; the starres of naturall inclination, fometimes obscured by the funne of discipline and vertue. Therefore it is good to confider of deformity, not as a figne, which is more deceiveable;

VX. Variations in posthumous Latin Edition of 1638.

¹ Are even with *Ulciscuntur*, 'revenge themselves upon.'
2 Done ill. *Minus propitia fuit*, 'was less favourable to.'

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British Museum Copy.

44. Of Deformite,



Eformed Perfons commonly are euen with1 Nature: For as Na-

ture hath done ill2 by them; So doe they by³ Nature: Being for the most part, (as the Scripture faith) void of Naturall Affection; And fo they have their Reuenge of Nature.4 Certainly there is a Confent between the Body and the Minde: And where Nature erreth in the One, she ventureth in the Other. Vbi peccat in vno, periclitatur in altero. But because. there is in Man, an Election touching the Frame of his Minde, and a Neceffity in the Frame of his Body, the Starres of Naturall Inclination, fometimes obscured, by the Sun of Discipline, and Therefore, it is Vertue. good to confider of Deformity, not as a Signe, which is more Deceivable;

a Rom. i. 31.

<sup>Doe . . by. Adversi, 'are opposed to.'
And so they have their Revenge of Nature. Omitted in the Latin.</sup>

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but as a cause which feldome faileth of th'effect. Whofoever hath anie thing fixed in his person, that doth induce contempt, hath also a perpetuall fourre in himself to refcue, and deliver himfelf from fcorne. Therefore all deformed perfons are extreame bold, First as in theire owne defence, as being exposed to fcorne. but in processe of tyme. by a generall habitt. Also it stirreth in them Industrie, and specially of this kind to watch, and observe the weakenesses of others, that they may have fomewhattorepay. Againe in their Superiours it quencheth Iealousie towardes them, as perfons that they thinke they may at pleafure despise, and it layeth theire Competitours and æmulatours afleepe, as never beleeving they should be in possibility of advauncement, till they fee them in poffefIV. 1612. æt. 52.

but as a cause, which feldome faileth of the effect. Whofoeuer hath any thing fixed in his person, that doth induce contempt; hath alfo a perpetuall fpurre in himfelfe, to refcue and deliuer himfelf from fcorne. Therefore all deformed perfons are extreme bold; first, as in their owne defence, as being exposed to fcorne; but in processe of time, generall habite. Alfo, it stirreth in them industrie, and specially of this kinde, to watch and observe the weaknesse of others, that they may have fomewhat to repay. Againe their fuperiours, quencheth ielousie wards them, as perfons that they thinke they may at pleafure despise; and it laveth their competitors and emulators afleepe: as neuer beleeuing they should bee in possibility of aduancement, till they ice them in poffef-

<sup>Rescue. Omitted in the Latin.
Generall. Acquisitio, 'acquired.'
Obserue. Omitted in the Latin.</sup>

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But as a Caufe, which feldome faileth of the Effect. Whofoeuer hath any Thing fixed in his Person, that doth enduce Contempt. hath alfo a perpetuall Spurre in himfelfe, to refcue⁵ and deliner himfelfe from Scorne: Therefore all Deformed Persons are extreme Bold. First, as in their own Defence, as being exposed to Scorn: But in Processe of Time. by a Generall⁶ Habit. Alfo it stirreth in them Industry, and especially of this kinde, to watch and obserue7 the Weaknesse8 of Others, that they may have fomewhat to repay. Againe, in their Superiours, it quencheth Iealousie9 towards them, as Perfons that they think they may at pleasure despise: And it layeth their Competitours and Emulatours afleepe; As neuer beleeuing, 10 they should be in possibility of aduancement,11 till they fee them in Poffef-

Weaknesse. Defectus et Infirmitates, 'defects and weaknesses.' Plealousie. Suspiciones et Zelotypiam, 'suspicions and jealousy.' Beleeuing. Suspicantes, 'suspecting.' After aduancement. Ad homores, 'to honours.'

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fion. Soe that voonn the whole matter in a great Witt deformitye is an advantage to ryfing. Kinges in auncient tymes, and at this prefent in fome Countryes. were wont to putt great truft in Eunuches, because they that are envvous towardes all. are more obnoxious and officious towardes one. But vet theire trust towardes them hath rather beene as to good fpyalls, and good Whifperers, then good Magistrates and officers. And much like is the reason of described perfons. Still the grounde is, they will if they be of fpiritt feeke to free themfelves from skorne, which must be either by vertue, or malice; and therefore they prove either the best of Men, or the worst, or ftrangely mixed.

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fion. So that vpon the whole matter, in a great wit, deformity is an aduantage to rising. Kings in ancient times, and at this prefent in fome Countries were wont to put great trust in Eunuches: because they that are uious towards all. more obnoxious and officious towards one. But vet their trust towards them, hath rather beene as to good fpials, and good whifperers; good Magistrates, and officers. And much like is the reason of desormed perfons. Still the ground is, they will, if they bee of fpirit, feeke to free themfelues from fcorne: which must bee either by vertue, or malice; and therefore they prooue either the best of men, or the worst, or strangely mixed.





¹² After Possession. Honorum, of honours."

¹³ Obnoxious. Obnoxii, 'submissive.' 14 Ground. Regula, quam antea posuimus, 'the rule, which we have before laid down.'

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fion. 12 So that, vpon the matter, in a great Wit, Deformity is an Aduantage to Rifing. Kings in Ancient Times, (And at this prefent in fome Countries.) were wont to put Great Trust in Eunuchs: Because they, that are Enuious towards All, are more Obnoxious 13 and Officious towards One. But yet their Trust towards them, hath rather beene as to good Spialls, and good Whisperers; then good Magistrates, and Officers. And much like is the Reason of Deformed Perfons. Still the Ground14 is, they will, if they be of Spirit, feeke to free themfelues from Scorne; 15 Which must be, either by Vertue, or Malice: And therefore. let it not be Maruelled, if

fometimes they proue Excellent Persons; As was Agestlaus, Zanger the Sonne of Solyman, Æsope, Gasca President of Peru; And Socrates may goe likewise

amongst them; with Others.



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Harleian MS. 5106.

19. Of Doung Men and Age.



Man that is yong in yeares maie be old in howers, if he

have loft noe tyme; but that happeneth rarely. Generally youth is like the first Cogitacions not so wife, as the fecond; For there is a youth in thoughtes as well as in Ages.

Natures that have much heate, and great and violent defiers, and perturbacions, are not ripe for accion, till they have paffed the Meridian of their yeares;

doe well in youth,

23. Of Doung Men and

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Age.



IV.

Man that is young in yeeres, may bee old in houres; if he

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haue loft no time. that happeneth rarely. Generally youth is like the first cogitations, not so wife as the fecond: For there is a youth in thoughts, afwell as in ages.

Natures that have much heat, and great and violent defires and perturbations, are not ripe for action, till they have passed the meridian of their yeeres:

but reposed Natures may but reposed natures may doe well in youth:

as on thother fide heate as on the other fide heate and vivacity in age is an and viuacity in age is an

DI. Variations in posthumous Latin Edition of 1638.

TITLE. De luventute et Senectute, 'of youth and age.'
 Great. Omitted in the Latin.
 Perturbations. Perturbationibus, huc illuc impelluntur, 'are driven hither and thither by perturbations.'

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British Museum Copy.

42. Of Bouth and Age.1



Man that is Young in yeares, may Old Houres, if

haue loft no Time. that happeneth rarely. Generally, youth is like the first Cogitations, not so Wife as the Second. For there is a youth in thoughts as

well as in Ages. And yet the Inuention of Young Men, is more liuely, then that of Old: And Imaginations streame into their Mindes better, and, as it were, more Diuinely.

Natures that have much Heat, and great² and violent defires and Perturbations.3 are not ripe for Action, till they have paffed the Meri-

dian of their yeares: As it was with Iulius Cafar, and Septimius Seuerus. Of the latter of whom, it is faid; Inuentutem egit, Erroribus, imo Furoribus, plenam.a And vet he was the Ablest Emperour, almost, of all the Lift. But Repofed⁵ Natures may

doe well6 in Youth. As it is feene, in Augustus Casar, Cosmus Duke of Florence, Gaston de Fois, and others.

On the other fide, Heate and Viuacity in Age, is an

a He spent a youth full of errors, and even of furies. A. Spartianus, Vita Septimi Severi. 2.

Ablest. Celeberrimus, 'most famous.'
 Reposed. Sedata et composita, 'settled and composed.'
 Doe well. Florere, 'flourish.'

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excellent Composicion for Yonge Men are fitter to invent, then to iudge, fitter for execucion, then for Councell. and fitter for new proiectes, then for fetled bufineffe, for the experience of Age in thinges that fall within the Compasse of it, directeth them, but in thinges meerely new abufeth them. The errors of vong Men are the ruyne of busines, but the errors of aged Men amount but to this, that more mought have beene done. or fooner. Yonge men in the Conduct and manage of accions embrace more then they can hold; stirre more then they can quiett; fflye to th'end without confideracion of the meanes. and degrees; purfue fome few Principles, which they have chaunced vponn abfurdly; Care not to innovate, which drawes vnknowne inconveniences: vse extreame remedves at first; and that which dowbleth all errors, will

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excellent composition for businesse. Young men are fitter to invent then to judge: fitter for execution then for Counfell; and fitter for new proiects, then for fetled busi-For the experience of age in things that fall within the compaffe of it, directeth them; but in things meerly new abufeth them. The errors of young men are the ruine of bufineffe: But the errors of aged men, amount but to this; that more might haue bin done,. or fooner. Young men in the conduct and mannage of Actions, embrace more then they can hold, stirre more then they can quiet, flie to the end without confideration of the meanes. and degrees, purfue fome fewe principles, which they haue chanced vpon abfurdly, care not to innouate, which drawes vnknowne inconueniences; vfe extreme remedies at first: and that doubleth all errors, will

Pursue. Absurde persequentur, 'pursue absurdiy.'
 Absurdly. Omitted in the Latin.

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Excellent Composition for Businesse. Young Men, are Fitter to Inuent, then to Iudge; Fitter for Execution, then for Counfell: And Fitter for New Proiects, then for Setled Businesse. For the Experience of Age, in Things that fall within the compasse of it, directeth them; But in New Things. abufeth them. The Errours of Young Men are the Ruine of Businesse; But the Errours of Aged Men amount but to this; That more might haue beene done. or fooner. Young Men, in theConduct, and Mannage of Actions, Embrace more then they can Hold, Stirre more then they can Quiet; Fly to the End, without Confideration of the Meanes. and Degrees; Purfue⁷ fome few Principles, which they haue chanced vpon abfurdly;8 Care not to Innouate, which draws knowne Inconueniences;9 Vse extreme Remedies at first; And, that which doubleth all Errours, will

⁹ Care not to Innouate, which draws vnknowne Inconneniences. Omitted in the Latin.' [This is evidently misplaced, and is an error o. Age.]

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not acknowledge nor retract them, like an vnreadv horfe that will neither stopp nor tourne. Men of age object to much. confult to long, adventure to litle, repent to foone, and feldome drive bufineffe home to the full period, but content themfelves with a mediocrity of fucceife. Certainly, it is good to compound imploymentes of both. that will bee good for the present, because the vertues of either age may correct the defectes of both, and good for fuccession. that yong Men may be Learners, while Men in age are Actours: and lastly in respect of externe accidentes, because authoritye followeth old Men, and favour, and popularity youth. But for the morall part, perhapps youth will have the preheminence, as Age hath for the politique. A certaine RabIV. 1612. æt. 52.

not acknowledge nor retract them: like an vnready horfe, that wil neither stop nor turne. Men of age object too much. confulte too long, aduenture too little, repent too foone, and feldome drive businesse home to the full period; but content themfelues with a mediocrity of fuccesse. Certainly it is good to compound imploiments of both: for that will bee good for the prefent; because the vertues of either age may correct the defects of both: and good for fuccession, that young men may bee learners, while men in age are Actors: and laftly, in respect of externe accidents, because authority followeth old men, and fauour and larity youth. But for the morall part: perhaps youth will have the preheminence, as age hath for the politike. A certaine Rab-

11 Repent too soone. Panitentia prapropera vacillant, 'waver with too hasty repentance.'

12 Good. Bonum in Negotiis, 'good in business.'

¹⁰ Aduenture too little. Pericula plusquam expedit reformidant, 'fear dangers more than is expedient.'

1623.

æt. 65.

not acknowledge or retract them: Like an vnready Horse, that will neither Stop, nor Turne. Men of Age. Object too much. Confult too long, Aduenture too little,10 Repent too foone,11 and feldome drive Businesse home to the full Period: But content themfelues with a Mediocrity of Successe. Certainly, it is good to compound Employments of both; For that will be Good¹² for the Prefent, because the Vertues of either Age, may correct the defects of both :18 And good for Succession.14 that Young Men may be Learners, while Men in Age are Actours:15 And lastly, Good for Externe Accidents, because Authority followeth16 Old Men, And Fauour and Popularity Youth. But for the Morall Part, perhaps Youth will haue the preheminence, as Age hath for the Politique. A certaine Rab-

¹³ Both. Et Senum, et Juvenum, 'both of old and young men.
14 Succession. Futuro, 'for the future.'
15 Are Actours. Moderentur, 'govern.'
16 Followeth. Senes Auctoritate, Juvenes Gratia et Popularitate, powlent, 'old men are strong in authority young men in favour and popularity.'

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by vponn the Text, your young Men shall fee visions, and your old Men shall dreame Dreames, inferreth that young Men are admitted nearer to God, then Old, because a Vision is a clearer revelation, then a dreame. And certainely the more a Man drinketh of the world, the more it intoxicateth, and age doth profitt rather in the powers of the vnderstanding, then in the vertues of the will. and affections.

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by vpon the Text, Your Young men shall fee visions, and your Old men shall dreame Dreames: inferreth. that young men are admitted neerer to God then old, because vision is a cleerer reuelation, then a dreame. And certainlie. the more a man drinketh of the world, the more it intoxicateth; and age doth profit rather in the powers of vnderstanding, then in the vertues of the will and affections.





 ¹⁷ Clearer. Clarior et manifestior, 'clearer and more manifest.'
 18 Yeares. Juventute, 'youth.'
 19 Fadeth betimes. Sed currentibus annis cito marcescunt; et deveniunt evanidi, 'but as years pass on, soon wither and become weak.

²⁰ Becomes. In Juvene landatur, 'is praised in a young man.' 21 Tract of yeares. Ætas provectior, 'more advanced age.

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bine, vpon the Text; Your Young Men shall see visions, and your Old Men shall dreamedreames; a Inferreth, that Young Men are admitted nearer to God then Old; Because Vision is a clearer Reuelation, then a Dreame. And certainly, the more a Man drinketh of the World, the more it intoxicateth; And Agedoth profit rather in the Powers of Vnderslanding, then in the Vertues of the Will

and Affections. There be fome haue an Ouer-early Ripeneffe in their yeares, 18 which fadeth betimes: 19 Thefe are first, Such as haue Brittle Wits, the Edge whereof is soone turned; Such as was Hermogenes the Rhetorician, whose Books are exceeding Subtill; Who afterwards waxed Stupid. A Second Sort is of those, that haue some naturall dispositions, which haue better Grace in Youth, then in Age: Such as is a fluent and Luxuriant Speech; which becomes 10 Youth well, but not Age: So Tully saith of Hortentius; Idem manebat, neque idem decebat. The third is of such, as take too high a Straine at the First; And are Magnanimous, more then Tract of yeares 12 can vphold. As was Scipio Affricanus, of whom Liuy faith in effect; Vltima primis cedebant.



a Toel, ii. 28.

b He remained the same, but it did not equally become him. Cic. Brutus. 95.

CLivy, XXXVIII. 53.
The last things fell short of the first. Ovid. Heroides. ix. 23. 24.

TII. 1607-12. æt. 47-52. Harleian MS. 5106.

22. Of Marriage and Single Life.



E that hath wife. and children. hath given hoftages to fortune;

for they are impedimentes to great enterprizes, either of vertue, or of mischeif. Certainly the best workes, and of greatest meritt for the publique, haue proceefrom vnmarryed. or childleffe Men which fought eternity in Memory and not in Posteritye, and which both in affection and meanes have marryed, and endowed the publique.

IV. 1612. æt. 52.

5. Of Marriage and single life.



EE that hath wife and children. hath giuen hoftages to fortune.

For they are impediments to great enterprises, either of vertue or mischief. Certainly the best works. and of greatest merit; for the publike haue proceeded from the vnmarried. or childlesse men; which haue fought eternity in memory, and not in posterity; and in affection and means, haue married and endowed the publike.

leade a fingle whose thoughtes life life

Yet fome there are that Yet fome there are, that lead a fingle whose thoughts doe end with themselves, doe ende with themselves,

DE. Variations in posthumous Latin Edition of 1638.

1 Either of Vertue. Sive ad Virtutem tendat quis, 'whether a man

Teither of Vertue. Sive an Virtuem tendat quis, whether a man inclines to virtue.

2 Best workes. (Ut alibi diximus) 'as we have said elsewhere.' [This clause was added to the Latin version in 1625. It probably refers to the passage added in the last English edition of the next Essay, see p. 273. Mr W. A. Wright quotes also the following like passage from In felicam memoriam Elizabethæ, translated in the Resuscitatio, p. 186, Ed. 1657. "Childlesse she was, and left no Issue behind Her; which was the Case of many, of the most fortunate Princes; Alexander the Great, Julius Cæsar, Trajan, and

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British Museum Copy.

8. Of Marriage and Single Life.



E that hath Wife and *Children*. hath giuen Hoftages to Fortune;

For they are Impediments. to great Enterprises, either of Vertue,1 or Mischiefe. Certainly, the best workes,2 and of greatest Merit for the Publike, haue proceeded from the vnmarried.3 or Childleffe Men; which.

both in Affection, and Meanes, haue married and endowed the Publike.

Yet it were great Reason, that those that have Children, should have greatest care of future times; vnto which, they know, they must transmit, their deareft pledges.

Some there are, who though they lead a Single Life,4 yet their Thoughts doe end with themselues.

others. And this is a Case, that hath been often controverted, and argued, on both sides; Whilest some hold, the want of Children, to be a Diminution, of our Happinesse; As if it should be an Estate, more then Human, to be happy, both in our own Persons, and in our Descendants: But others, do account, the want of Children, as an Addition to Earthly Happinesse: In as much, as that Happinesse, may be said, to be complear, over which Fortune hath no Power, when we are gone: Which, if we leaue Children, cannot be,"]
3 Vnmarried. Omitted in the Latin.
Tamen Memor

⁴ After Single Life. Tamen Memoriæ suæ incuriosi sunt, 'yet are careless of their memory.'

III. 1607-12. æt. 47-52. and doe accompt future tymes impertinencyes, Nay there are fome other that efteeme wife, and children but as Bills of Charges:

IV. 1612. æt. 52. and doe account future times, impertinences. Nay there are fome others, that efteeme wife and children, but as bils of charges.

but the most ordinary cause of a fingle life is libertye, fpecially in certaine felf pleasing, and humorous mindes, which are fenfible of every reftriccion, as they will goe neere to thinke theire Girdles, and garters to be bondes and shackles. Vnmarryed Men are best Frendes, best Maisters, best Seruauntes, not alwaies best Subjectes. for they are light to run away, and almost all Fugitives are of that condicion. A fingle life is proper for Church Men; For Charity will hardlie water the grounde where it must first fill a Poole; it is indifferent for Iudges, and MagifBut the most ordinarie cause of a fingle life, is liberty; fpecially in certain felfpleasing and humorous minds, which are fenfible of enery restriction, they wil go neere to thinke their girdles and garters to be bonds and shakles. Vnmarried men are best friends; best masters; best seruants; not alwaies best subjects: for they are light to run away; and almost all fugitiues are of that condition. A fingle life is proper for Churchmen. For charity hardly water the ground, where it must first fill a poole. It is indifferent for Judges and Magif-

<sup>Rich couetous. Avari, 'avaricious.'
Humorous. Phantasticis, 'fantastic.'
Light. Expediti, 'unencumbered.'</sup>

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and account future Times, Impertinences. Nay there are fome other, that account Wife and Children. but as Bills of Charges.

Nay more, there are fome foolish rich couetous⁵ Men, that take a pride in hauing no Children, because they may be thought, so much the richer. For perhaps, they have heard fome talke; Such an one is a great rich Man; And another except to it; Yea, but he hath a great charge of Children: As if it were an

Abatement to his Riches. But the most ordinary cause of a Single Life, is Liberty; especially, in certaine Selfepleasing, and humorous6 Mindes, which are fo fensible of euery restraint, as they will goe neare, to thinke their Girdles, and Garters, to be Bonds and Shackles. Vnmarried Men. are best Friends: best Masters; best Seruants; but not alwayes best Subjects; For they are light⁷ to runne away; And almost all Fugitiues are of that Condition. A Single Life doth well with Church men:8 For Charity9 will hardly water the Ground, where it must first fill a Poole.10 It is indifferent for Judges and Magif-

⁶ Church men. Ecclesiasticis, 'clergymen.'
9 Charity. Quis, 'any one.'
10 Poole. Si prius Stagni alicujus Receptaculum interveniat, 'if a recervoir of water is interposed.'

III. 1607-12. æt. 47-52. trates: for if they be facile, and corrupt, you shall have a Seruaunte five tyme[s w]orfe then a Wife. Souldiours I finde generalls commonlye in theire hortatives putt Men in [minde] of theire wives, and Children, and I thinke the [defpifin]g of Marriage amongest the Turkes maketh [the vulg]ar Souldior more base. Certainely wife, [and chi]ldren are a kind of discipline of humanity [and fi]ngle men

TV. 1612. æt. 52. trates. For if they be facile and corrupt, you shall have fernant fine worfe then a wife. For Souldiers, 1 find. Generals commonly their hortatiues, put men in minde of their wives. and children: and I thinke the despising of marriage, amongst the Turkes, maketh the vulgar Souldier more bafe. Certainely, wife and children are a kinde of discipline of humanity: and fingle men

are more cruell, and hard hearted [go]od to make feuere Inquifitours.

Grave Natures led by Cuftome, and therefore conflant are commonly loving hufbandes, as was faied of Vliffes, vetulan prætulit immortalitati. Chafte Womenare often proud, and froward as prefuming vponn the meritt of theire Chastitye. It is one of the best bandes both of Chastitye

are more cruell and hardhearted: good to make feuere inquisitors.

Graue natures led by cuftome, and therefore confiant, are commonly louing husbands: as was faid of Vlisses; Vetulam prætulit immortalitati. Chaste women are often proud and froward, as presuming vpon the merit of their chastity. It is one of the best bonds both of chastity

¹¹ Worse. Ad hujusmodi Lucra captanda, 'at getting gain of this kind.'
12 Wiues and Children. Charitates Vxorum et Liberorum, 'the love of their wives and children.'

¹³ Charitable. Munifici et charitativi, 'munificent and charitable.'
14 Hard hearted. Sine visceribus, 'without bowels.'

trates: For if they be facile, and corrupt, you shall hauc Seruant, fiue times worfe11 than a Wife. For Souldiers, I finde the Generalls commonly in their Hortatiues, put Men in minde of their Wives and Children, 12 And I thinke the Despising of Marriage, amongst the Turkes, maketh the vulgar fouldier more base. Certainly. Wife and Children, are a kinde of Discipline of Hu-

manity: And fingle Men, though they be many times more Charitable, 13 because their Meanes are lesse

exhaust; yet, on the other side, they

are more cruell, and hard hearted, 14 (good to make

feuere Inquifitors) because their Tendernesse, 15 is not so

oft called vpon.16

Graue Natures, led by Cuftome, and therfore conflant, are commonly louing Husbands; As was faid of Vlyffes; Vetulam fuam prætulit Immortalitati.a Chaft Women areoften Proud, and froward, as Prefuming vpon the merit of their Chaftity. It is one of the beft Bonds, both of Chaftity

^a He preferred his little old woman to immortality. [i.e. to Circe.] Cic. De Oratore. i. 44.

 ¹⁸ Tendernesse. Indulgentia et Teneritudo Affectuum, 'indulgence and tenderness of the affections.'
 16 Called vpon. Evocatur, et excita'ur, 'called out and roused up'

III. 1607-12. æt. 47-52. and obedience in the wife, if thee thinke her husband wife, which shee will never doe, if shee finde him jealous. Wives are younge mens mistresses, Companions to men of midle age, and old Mens Nurses. So as a Man may have a quarrell to marrye when he will, but vet he was reputed one of the Wife Men, that made aunsweare to the question When a Man should marrie, A younger Man not yet, an elder Man not at all.

IV. 1612. æt. 52. obedience in the and wife: if shee thinke her husband wife; which shee will neuer doe, if shee finde him ielous. Wiues are voung mens mistresses; companions for middle and old nurfes. So as a man may haue a quarrell to marry when, hee will; but yet hee was reputed one of the wife men, that made answere to the question; When a man should marrie? A young man not yet, an elder man not at all.





¹⁷ Quarrell. Ansa, 'handie.'
18 When he will. Ætatibus singulis, 'at every age.'
19 It rayseth the Price of. Hoc modo pretium addatur, 'in this manner value is added to. 20 Choosing. Expetiti et electi fuerint, 'were desired and chosen.'

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and Obedience, in the Wife, if She thinke her Husband Wife: which She will neuer doe, if She finde him Iealous. Wiues are young Mens Mistresses; Companions for middle Age; and old Mens Nurfes. So as a Man may haue a Quarrell¹⁷ to marry, when he will.18 But yet, he was reputed one of the wife Men, that made Answer to the Question; When a Manshould marry? A young Man not yet, an Elder Man not at all,a

It is often feene, that bad Husbands, have very good Wines; whether it be, that it rayleth the Price19 of their Husbands Kindnesse, when it comes; Or that the Wives take a Pride, in their Patience. But this neuer failes, if the bad Husbands were of their owne choosing, 20 against their Friends confent; For then, they will be fure,21 to make good22 their owne Folly.



^a Thales being asked, when a Man should marrie, sayd; Young Men not yet, old Men not at all. Lord Bacon's Apophth. No. 220. Ed. 1625.

²¹ Will be sure. Animus iis semper adest, 'they will always have a mind. 22 Make good. Fanitere non videantur, 'not to seem to repent.'

III. 1607-12. æt. 47-52.

Harleian MS. 5106.

23. Of Parents and Children.



He Ioyes of Parentes are secrett, and fo are theire greifes, and

feares; they cannot vtter the one, nor they will not vtter the other. Children fweeten laboures, but they make miffortunes more bitter, they encrease the Cares of life, but they mittigate the remembraunce of death. The perpetuity by generacion is common to b[east]es, but memorie, and meritt, and noble workes are [proper] to Men.

They that are the rayfers of theire h ouses a re most indulgent towardes theire Children, beh olding th em, as the contynuance not onely of theire ki [nd, but] of theire worke, and so both Chil-

IV. 1612. æt. 52.

6. Of Parents and Children.



He ioyes of *Parents* are fecret, and fo are their griefs and

feares: they cannot vtter the one, nor they will not vtter the other. Children fweeten labors, but they make misfortunes more bitter: they increase the cares of life, but they mittigate the remembrance of death. The perpetuitie by generation, is common to beasts; but memorie, merit, and noble

merit, and noble works are proper to men.

They that are the first raisers of their house, are most indulgent towards their children; beholding them, as the continuance, not only of their kind, but of their worke; and so both chil-

FE. Variations in posthumous Latin Edition of 1638.

¹ Labours. Labores humanos, 'humas labours.'
Noble. Omitted in the Latin

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British Museum Copy.

7. Of Parents and Children.



V.

He Ioyes of *Parents* are Secret; And fo are their Griefes, and

Feares: They cannot vtter the one; Nor they will not vtter the other. Children fweeten Labours; But they make Misfortunes more bitter: They increase the Cares of Life; but they mitigate the Remembrance of Death. The Perpetuity by Generation is common to Beasts; But Memory,

Merit, and Noble² workes, are proper to Men:

And furely a Man shall fee, the Noblest workes, and Foundations, have proceeded from *Childleffe Men*; which have fought to expresse the Images of their Minds; where those of their Bodies have failed: So the care of Posterity, is most in them, that have no Posterity. They that are the

Posterity. They that are the first Raisers of their Houses, are most Indulgent towards their *Children*; Beholding them, as the Continuance, not only of their kinde, but of their Worke; And so both *Chil-*

the heirs of their work."

³ First Raisers . . . Houses. Qui Honores in Familiam suam primi introducunt, 'those who first bring honour into their families.'
4 But of their Worke Sed ut Rerum a se gestarum Hæredes: 'but as

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dren, and Cr[eatures]. The difference of affection, in Parentes, tow ardes theirle feverall Children is manie tymes vnequall [and]fometymesvnworthie, specially in the mother. as Salomon faieth. A wife fonne reioyceth the father, but an vngratious fonne Chames the Mother. Man shall see where there is a howfefull of Children. one, or two of the eldest respected, and the yongest made wantons, but in midle, fome that are as it were forgotten, who neverprove the best. theles The illiberalitye of Parin allowance toentes wardes theire Children is an harmefull errour, makes acquaintes bafe. them with shiftes makes them forte with meane Companie, and makes them furfett more, when they come to plenty; And therefore the proofe is beft, when Men keepe theire authoritye towardes theire Children, but not theire purfe. Men have

IV. 1612. æt. 52.

dren and creatures. The difference of affection tion in parents towards their feuerall children. is many times vnequall; and fometimes vnworthy: fpecially in the mother: as Salomon faith: A wife fonne reioiceth the Father. but an ungracious shames the mother. man shall see where there is a house full of children. one, or two of the eldest respected, and the youngest made wantons; but in middle, fome that the are as it were forgotten: who theleffe prooue the best. The illiberality of Parents in allowance wards their children is an harmefull error: makes base; acquaints them fhifts, makes them with with meane them fort companie; and makes them furfet more, when they come to plenty. And therefore the proofe best, when men keepe their authority towards their children, but not their purfe. Men haue

⁵ House full of Children. Domo facunda, et Liberorum plena, 'a prolific house, full of children,'

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dren and Creatures. The difference in Affection, of Parents, towards their feuerall Children. is many times vnequall; And fometimes vnworthy; Especially in the mother: As Salomon faith; A wife fonne reiovceth the Father: but an vngracious fonne shames the Mother. Man shall fee, where there is a House full of Children.5 one or two, of the Eldeft, respected, and the Youngest made wantons: But in the middeft, fome that are, as it were forgotten who, many times, neuertheleffe, proue the beft. The Illiberalitie of Parents, in allowance towards their Children, is an harmefull Errour; Makes them base; Acquaints them with Shifts; Makes them fort with meane Company; And makes them furfet more, when they come to Plenty: And therefore, the Proofe is best, when Men keepe their Authority towards their Children, but not their Purfe.6 Men haue

a Prov. x. 1.

⁶ But not their Purse. Crumenam laxant, 'loosen their purse.'

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a foolishe manner, both Parentes Schoole-Maifters. and Seruauntes in creating. and breeding an emulacion betweene brothers during Childhood, which manie tymes forteth to difcord when they are Men, and diffurbeth families. Italians make litle difference betweene Children. and Nephues, or neare Kinffolkes; but fo they be of the lumpe, they care not, thoughe they passe not throughe theire owne body; and to faie Truth in nature it is much a like matter, in fo much that wee fee a Nephewe fometymes refembleth an vncle. or a kinfeman more then his owne Parent, as the bloud happens.

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a foolish manner, both Parents, Schoolemasters. and feruants, in creating and breeding an emulation betweene brothers during childhood, which times forteth to diffcord when they are men, and disturbeth families. Italians make little difference betweene children and nephewes, or neere kinsfolke: But fo they be of the lumpe, they care not, though they paffe not through their owne body: and to fav truth. in nature it is much a like matter, in fo much that wee fee a nephewe fometimes refembleth an vncle. or a kinfman, more then his owne Parent, as the blood happens.



^a Choose the best, habit will easily and pleasantly bring it to pass. A saying of Pythagoras, quoted by Plutarch. De Exilio. c. 8.

<sup>Vocations, and Courses. Cni vitæ Generi, 'what kind of life.'
Flexible. Flexibiles, et cerei, 'flexible and soft (like wax).'
Extraordinary. Erga aliquod Studium insignis, 'extraordinary to-</sup>

⁹ Extraordinary. wards any pursuit.'

Crosse it. Nature, aut Indoli repugnet, 'resist nature or disposition.'
 Fortunate. Fortunæ Filii, 'sons of fortune.'

¹² Seldome or neuer. Sed raro, aut nunquam, prosperum sortiuntur Exitum, 'but rarely or never, do they obtain a happy end.'

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afoolish manner (both Parents, and Schoole-masters. and Seruants) in creating and breeding an Emulation between Brothers, during Childhood, which many times forteth to Difcord. when they are Men; And diffurbeth Families. The Italians make little difference betweene Children. and Nephewes, or neere Kinffolkes; But fo they be of the Lumpe, they care not, though they paffe not through their owne Body. And, to fay Truth, in Nature, it is much a like matter; In fo much, that we fee a Nephew, fometimes, refembleth an Vncle. or a Kinfman, more then his owne Parent; As the

Bloud happens. Let *Parents* choose betimes, the Vocations, and Courses, they meane their Children should take; For then they are most flexible; And let them not too much apply themselues, to the Disposition of their *Children*, as thinking they will take best to that, which they have most Minde to. It is true, that if the Affection or Aptnesse of the *Children*, be Extraordinary, then it is good, not to crosse it; But generally the Precept is good; *Optimum elige*, fuave et facile illud faciet Consuctudo. Younger Brothers are commonly Fortunate, but seldome or neuer, where

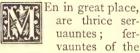
the Elder are difinherited.



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Harleian MS. 5106.

24. Of Great Place.



Sovereigne, or State, fervauntes of fame, and feruauntes of businesse: so as they have noe freedome. neither in theire persons, nor in theire accions, nor in theiretymes. It is a straunge defier to feeke power, and to leese libertye, or to feeke power over others, and to leefe power over a Mans felf. The ryfing vnto place is laborious, and by paynes Men come to greater paines; and it is fometymes base, and by Indignities Men come to Dignityes; the standing is flipery, and the regresse is either a downefall, or at least an Eclipse, which is a Melancholie thing.

Nay, retire men cannott when they would, Neither will they when it were

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8. Of Great Place.



En in great place. are thrice fermants : feruants of the

Soueraigne, or flate; feruants of fame, and feruants of bufineffe. So as they have no freedome. neither in their persons, nor in their actions, nor in their times. It is a strange defire to feeke power, and to lofe liberty: or to feeke power ouer others, and to lofe power ouer a mans felfe. The rifing vnto place is laborious. and by paines men come to greater paines: and it is fometimes bafe, and by indignities men come dignities: the standto ing is flippery; and the regresse is either a downefall, or at least an Ecclipse; which is a malancholy thing.

Nay, retire, men cannot when they would, neither will they when it were

DE. Variations in posthumous Latin Edition of 1638.

¹ TITLE. De Magistratibus & Dignitatibus, 'of magistracies & dignities.'
2 Lose. Exuere, 'cast off.
3 Base. Indignitatibus non vacat; 'is not without indignities.'

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British Museum Copy.

11. Of Great Place.1



En in Great Place, are thrice Seruants: Seruants Souerof the

aigne or State: Seruants of Fame: and Seruants of Bufineffe. So as they have no Freedome; neither in their Persons: nor in their Actions; nor in their Times. It is astrange defire, to feeke Power, and to lofe2 Libertie: Or to feeke Power ouer others. and to loofe Power ouer a Mans Selfe. The Rifing vnto Place is Laborious; And by Paines Men come to greater Paines; And it is fometimes base;3 And by Indignities, Men come to Dignities. The flanding4 is flippery, and the Regreffe, is either a downefall, or at least an Eclipse, which is a Melancholv⁵

Thing. Cum non fis, qui fueris, non effe, cur velis viuere. Nay, retire Men cannot, when they would; neither will they, when it were

^a When thou art no longer what thou wast, why wishest thou to live. Cicero. Epistolæ Familiares. (ad Marium) vii. 3.

⁴ Standing. Statio in Dignitatibus, 'the standing in dignities.'
⁵ Melancholy. Triste quiddam, et Melancholicum, 'is a sad thing and

melancholy.'

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reason, but are impatient of privatenes, even in age and sicknes which requier the shaddowe.

Certainly great persons had neede to borrowe other Mens opinions to thinke themselves happie: for if they judge by theire owne feeling, they cannot finde it; but if they thinke with themselves, what Men thinke of them, and that other Men would faine be as they are, then they are happie as it were by reporte, when perhapps they finde the contrary within; for they are the first, that finde theire owne greifes, thoughethey beethe last that finde theire owne Certainely Men faultes. in great fortunes are Straungers to themselves, and while they are in the pusle of businesse, they have noe tyme to tend theire health either of body, or minde, Illi mors grauis incubat, qui notus nimis

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reason; but are impatient of privatenesse, even in age and sicknesse, which require the shadow.

Certainely, great perfons had need to borrow other mens opinions, to thinke themselues happy: for if they judge by their owne feeling, they cannot find it; but if they thinke with themselues, what other men thinke of them, and that other men would fain be as they are, then they are happy as it were by report, when perhappes they finde the contrarie within: for they are the first that finde their owne griefes, though they bee the last that finde their own Certainely in great fortunes to themselues. ftrangers and while they are in the of busines they haue no time to tend their health, either of body or mind. Flli mors grauis incubat, qui notus nimis

⁶ Reason. Cum ratio postulat ut id facerent, 'when reason demands that they should do it.'

⁸ Shadow. Unbram et Otium, 'shadow and ease.'

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Reafon: But are impatient of priuatenesse, euen in Age, and Sickneffe,7 which

require the Shadow:8 Like old Townesmen, that will be ftill fitting at their Street doore; though thereby

they offer Age9 to Scorne. Certainly Great¹⁰ Perfons. had need to borrow other Mens Opinions: to thinke themselues happy; For if they judge by their owne Feeling; they cannot finde it: But if they thinke with themselues, what other men thinke of them, and that other men would faine be as they are, then they are happy, as it were by report; When perhaps they finde the Contrary within. For they are the first, that finde their owne Griefs; though they be the last, that finde their owne Faults. Certainly, Men in Great Fortunes, are ftrangers to themselues, and while they are in the pufle of 11 bufineffe, they haue no time to tend their Health, either of Body, or Minde. Illi Mors grauis incubat, qui notus nimis

Age. Se, 'themselves.'
 Great. In Magistratibus positis, 'placed in offices,'
 In the pusle of. Distrahuntur, 'are distracted by.'

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omnibus, ignotus moritur fibi. In place, there is licence to doe good, and evill; Whereof the latter is a Curfe; For in evill, the best condicion is, not to will, the fecond, not to can: But power to doe good, is the true and lawfull end of afpiringe. For good thoughtes (thoughe God accept them) yet towardes Men are litle better then good dreames, except they be putt in act, and that cannott be without power, and place, as the vantage and Commaunding ground. Meritt the End of Mans mocion, and Conscience of Merite is the accomplishement of Mans Rest. For if a Man can in anie meafure be partaker of Godes Theater, he shall likewise be partaker of Godes reft. Et converfus Deus vt afpiceret opera quæ fecerunt manus suæ, vidit quod omnia effent bona nimis, and then the Sabboth. In the discharge of thie place, fett before

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omnibus, ignotus moritur fibi. In place there is licence to do good and euill: wherof the latter is a curfe: for in euill the best condition is, not to will; the fecond not to can. But power to doe good, is the true and lawfull end of aspiring. For good thoughts, (though God accept them) vet towards men are little better then good dreams: except they be put in Art: and that cannot be without power and place: as the vantage and commanding ground. Merit is the ende of mans motion; and conscience of merit is the accomplishment of mans reft. For if a man can in any measure be pertaker of Gods Theater, he shall likewise be pertaker of Gods rest. Et converfus Deus vt afpiceret opera quæ fecerunt manus suæ vidit quod omnia effent bona nimis, and then the Sabbath. In the discharge of thy place, fet before

¹² For if a man can be partaker . . God's Rest. Omitted in the Latin.

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omnibus, ignotus moritur fibi.a In Place, There is License to doe Good, and Euill: wherof the latter is a Curfe; For in Euill, the best condition is, not to will; The Second, not to Can. But Power to doe good, is the true and lawfull End of Aspiring. For good Thoughts (though God accept them,) yet towards men, are little better then good Dreames; Except they be put in Act; And that cannot be without Power, and Place; As the Vantage, and Com-

manding Ground. Merit, and good Works, is the End of Mans
Motion: And Confcience

of the fame, is the Accomplishment of Mans Reft.

For if a Man, can

be Partaker of Gods Theater, he shall likewise be Partaker of Gods Rest. 12 Et converfus Deus, vt aspiceret Opera, quæ fecerunt manus suæ, vidit quod omnia effent bona nimis; hand then the Sabbath. In the Discharge of thy Place, set before

^a Death lies heavily on the man, who too well known to all, dies a stranger to himself. Seneca. Thyestes. Act ii. (Chorus).
^b Genesis i. 31.

[·] See p. 101.

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thee the best Exemples; For Imitacion is a Globe of Preceptes. And after a tyme, fett before thee thyne owne Example, and examine thie felf firictly, Whether thou didft not beft at first.

Reforme without braverye, or Scandale of former tymes, and persons, but yet fett it downe to thie felf, aswell to create good Prefidentes, as to followe them. Reduce thinges to the first Institucion, and observe wherein and how they have degenerate; but vet aske Councell of both tymes; of the auncient tyme what is best, and of the latter tyme what is fittest. Seeke to make thie courses regular, that Men may knowe before hand what they may expect, but be not positive, and expresse thie felf IV. 1612. æt. 52.

thee the best examples; for imitation is a globe of precepts. And after a time, set before thee thine owne example, and examine thy self strength, whether thou diddest not best at first.

Reforme without brauery or fcandall of former times and perfons, but yet fet it downe to thy felfe, aswell to create good prefidents, as to follow Reduce things to the first institution, and observe wherein and how they have degenerate; but vet aske counfell of both times: of the ancient time what is best; and of the latter time what is fittest. Seeke to make thy course reguler, that may know before men hand what they may expect; but be not too positiue. and expresse thv

¹⁸ Best at first. Mettus inceperis, quam perstiteris, 'begin better than you went on.'
¹⁴ Make thy Course Regular, Ut quæ agis pro Potestate, tanquam Reguits

æt. 65.

thee the best Examples; For Imitation, is a Globe of Precepts. And after a time, set before thee, thine owne Example; And examine thyselfestrictly, whether thou didst not best

at first. 13 Neglect not also the Examples of those, that have carried themselves ill, in the same *Place*: Not to set off thy selfe, by taxing their Memory; but to direct thy selfe, what to avoid.

Reforme therfore, without Brauerie, or Scandall, of former Times, and Perfons: but yet fet it downe to thy felfe, as well to create good Prefidents, as to follow them. Reduce things, to the first Institution, and obserue, wherin, and how, they have degenerate; but yet aske Counfell of both Times; Of the Ancient Time, what is best; and of the Latter Time, what is fitteft. Seeke to make thy Courfe Regular;14 that Men may know before hand,15 what they may expect: But be not too positiue, and peremptorie;

And expresse thy felfe 16

quibusdam cohibeantur, 'that your actions for power, may be restrained by certain rules.'

 ¹⁵ Know before hand. Ut Hominibus tanguam digito monstres, 'that you may point out to men, as if with your finger.'
 16 Thy selfe. Quid sit quod agas, 'what it is you do.'

III. 1607-12. æt. 47-52. well, when thou digreffest from thie rule; Preferve the rightes of thie place, but flirre not questions of Iurisdiccion, and rather affume thie right in filence and de facto, then vovce it with claimes and Challenges. Preferve likewife the rightes of inferiour places, and thinke it more honor, to direct in cheife, then to be bufie in all. Imbrace. and invite helpes, and intelligence, touching th[e] execution of thie place; and doe not drive away fuch as bring thee Informacion, as Medlers, but accept of them in good part. The vices of Authority are cheifly Delaies. Corruption. Roughnes, and Facilitye. For Delayes; give easie accesse; keepe tymes apthrough pointed; goe with that which is in hand. and interlace not businesse! but of necessitye. For Corrupcion, doe not only

IV. 1612. æt. 52. well when thou digreffest from thy rule. Preserue the rights of thy place, but ftir not questions of Iurifdiction: and rather affume thy right filence and de facto, then voice it with claimes. and challenges. likewife the rights inferiour places; and thinke it more honour, to direct in chiefe, then to be busie in al. Imbrace and inuite helpes, and intelligence touching execution of thy place; and doe not drive away fuch as bring thee information, as medlers, but accept of them in good part. The vices of authority are chiefly foure. Delaies. Corruptions. Roughneffe, and Facility. For Delaies, giue eafie accesse: keepe times appointed; through go with that which is in hand, and interlace not busines. but of necessity.

Corruption, do not only

¹⁷ Assume. Assumas et exerceas, 'assume and exercise.

Yoice. Cum streptiu suscites, et agites, 'noisily raise and move.
 Preserue. Defende, et ne destitue, 'defend and do not desert.'
 Inferiour. Inferiorum Munerum, tibi subordinatorum, 'inferior places subordinate to yourself.'

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well, when thou digreffest from thy Rule. Preferue the Right of thy Place; but stirre not questions of Iurifdiction: And rather assume 17 thy Right, in Silence, and de facto, then voice¹⁸ it, with Claimes, and Challenges. Preferue19 likewife, the Rights of Inferiour²⁰ Places; And thinke it more Honour to direct in chiefe, then to be bufie in all. Embrace. and inuite Helps, Aduices, touching the Execution of thy Place; And doe not drive away fuch, as bring thee Information, as Medlers; but accept21 of them in good part. The vices of Authoritie²² are chiefly foure: Delaies;23 Corruption; Roughneffe; and Facilitie. For Delaies: Giue easie Accesse: Keepe times appointed; Goe through with that which is in hand: And interlace not businesse. but of necessitie. For Corruption; Doe not onely

23 Delaies. Mora nimia, 'too much delay.'

²¹ Accept. Allicias, et recipias, 'draw to you and accept.'
22 Authoritie. In Auctoritate utenda, et exercenda, 'in using and exercising authority.'

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bind thine owne handes, or thie Seruauntes handes. that may take, but bind the handes of them that should offer. For Integrity vfed doth the one, but Integrity professed, and with a manifest detestacion of Bribery doth the other. And avoyd not onely the faulte, but the Sufpicion. Whofoever is found variable, and chaungeth manifestly without manifest cause, giveth Sufpicion of Corrupcion.

IV. 1612. æt. 52. bind 'thine owne hands,

or thy feruants hands that may take; but bind the hands of them that should offer. For integrity vfed doth the one, but integrity professed, and with a manifest detestation of bribery, doth the other. And auoid not only the fault, but the fuspition. Whofoeuer is found variable and changeth manifestly, without manifest cause, giueth sufpition of corruption.

A Servaunt, or a Favourite if he bee inward, and noe other apparaunt cause of esteeme, is commonly thought but a by-way. For roughnes, it is a needles caufe of Difcon-Severity breedeth but roughnes breedeth hate. Even Reproofes from authoritye, ought to be grave, and

A feraunt or a fauourite if he be inward, and no other apparant cause of efteeme: is commonly thought but a by-way. For roughnes it is needleffe caufe of difcontent. Seueritie breedeth feare, but roughneffe breedeth hate. Euen reproofes from authoritie. ought to be graue and

²⁴ Manifest. Omitted in the Latin.

²⁵ Opinion. Opinione tua quam declarasti, 'the opinion you have declared.'

²⁶ Course. Processu quem incepisti, 'the course you have begun.' 27 Declare it. Sedulo declares, et inculces, 'carefully declare and impress it.'

V.

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binde thine owne Hands. or thy Seruants hands, from taking; but binde the hands of Sutours also from offring. For Integritie vfed doth the one; but Integritie professed, and with a manifest 24 detestation of Bribery, doth the other. And auoid not onely the Fault, but the Sufpicion. Whofoeuer is found variable, and changeth manifestly, without manifest Cause, giueth Suf-

picion of Corruption. Therefore, alwayes, when thou changest thine Opinion, 25 or Course, 26 professe it plainly, and declare it. 27 together with the Reasons, that moue thee to change; And doe not thinke to steale it.

A Seruant, or a Fauorite. if hee be inward,28 and no other apparent Cause of Esteeme, is commonly

thought but a By-way, to close²⁹ Corruption.

For Roughneffe; It is a needleffe cause of Discontent:30 Seueritie breedeth31 Feare, but Roughneffe breedeth Hate. Euen Reproofes from Authoritie. ought to be Graue, and

²⁸ Inward. Servus gratiosus, et apud Dominum potens, 'a favourite servant having influence with his master.'
29 Close. Omitted in the Latin.

³⁰ Discontent. Invidiam, et Malevolentiam, 'envy and ill-will.' 31 Breedeth. Incutit, 'inflicts.'

IV.

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not taunting. As for Facility, it is worfe the[n] Bribery. For Bribes come but now and then. but if importunity, or idle refpectes lead a Man, he shall never be without; as Salomon faieth To respect perfons is not good, for fuch a Man will transgresse for a peece of breade. It is most true that was aunciently spoken. Aplace Theweth the Man and it sheweth some to the better and fome to the worfe. Omnium confensu capax imperii, nisi imperaffet faieth Tacitus of Galba. but of Vespasian he saieth Solus imperantium Vefpafianus mutatus in melius, thoughe the one was meant of Sufficiencye, the other of Manners, and affeccion. It is an affured figne of a worthie, and generous fpiritt, whom honour amendes. Ffor honor is, or should be the place of Vertue, and as in nature, thinges move violentlye to theire place, and calmely

æt. 52. not taunting. As for bribes

1612.

facility, it is worfe then bribery: for come but now and then. but if importunitie, or idle respects leade a man, he shall neuer be without. As Salomon faith: To refpect perfons is not good; for fuch a man will tranfgreffe for a peece of bread. is most true that was anciently spoken; A place Theweth the man: and it sheweth some to the better. and fome to the worfe. Omnium confensu capax imperij nisi imperasset, faith Tacitus of Galba: but of Vespasian he saith. Solus imperantium Vefpasianus mutatus in melius: Though the one was meant of fufficiency, the other of manners and affection. It is an affured figne of a worthy and generous fpirit whom honour For honour is amends. or fhould be the place of vertue; and as in nature things moue violently to their place; and calmely

Bribes come. Tentantur, 'are attempted.

Sufficiencie. Arte Imperatoria, 'the art of governing.'

V.

æt. 65.

not Taunting. As for Facilitie: It is worse then Bribery. For Bribes come 32 but now and then; But if Importunitie, or Idle Respects lead a Man, he shall neuer be without. As Salomon faith; To respect Perfons, is not good; For fuch a man will transgresse for a peece of Bread.a It is most true, that was anciently fpoken; A place Theweth the Man: And it sheweth some to the better and fome to the worfe: Omnium confensu, capax Imperij, nisi imperasset; b faith Tacitus of Galba: but of Vefpafian he faith: Solus Imperantium Vefpafianus mutatus in melius.c Though the one was meant of Sufficiencie,33 the other of Manners, and Affection. It is an affured Signe, of a worthy and generous whom Spirit, Honour amends. For Honour is, or should be, the Place of Vertue: And as in Nature, Things moue violently to their Place, and calmely

^a Prov. xxviii. 21.
^b In the opinion of all he was capable of Empire, had he not ruted.
Tacitus. History, i. 49.

e Vespasian, alone of the Emperors, changed for the better. Tacitus. History. 1. 50.

III. 1607-12. æt. 47-52. authoritye fetled.

IV. 1612. æt. 52. in theire place, fo vertue in their place; fo vertue in ambition is violent, in in ambition is violent, in authority, fetled and calme.





⁸⁴ Authority. In Honore adepto, 'when the honour is gained.'
85 Calme. Omitted in the Latin.
86 Fairely, and tenderly. Illesam, 'unhurt.'
87 Path. A Successore two, 'by your successor.'
88 Respect. Amica tracta, 'treat in a friendly manner.'

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in their Place: So Vertue in Ambition is violent, in

Authority³⁴ fetled and calme.⁸⁵ All Rifing to *Great Place*, is by a winding Staire: And if there be Factions, it is good, to fide a Mans felfe, whileft hee is in the Rifing; and to ballance Himfelfe, when hee is placed. Vfe the Memory of thy Predeceffor fairely, and tenderly;³⁶ For if thou doft not, it is a Debt, will fure be paid,³⁷ when thou art gone. If thou haue Colleagues, refpect³⁸ them, and rather call them, when they looke not for it, then exclude them, when they haue reason to looke to be called. Be not too sensible, or too remembring, of thy Place, in Conuersation, and private Answers to Suitors;³⁹ But let it rather be said: When he sits in Place,⁴⁰ he is another Man.



Conuersation, and private Answers to Suitors. Quotidianis sermonibus aut conversatione privata, 'in daily discourse or private conversation.'
 Sits in Place. Sedet, et munus suum exercet, 'sits and exercises hiofice.'

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Harleian MS. 5106.

25. Of Empire.



T is a miferable flate of minde to have few thinges to defier,

and manie thinges to feare; and yet that commonly the Cafe of Kinges who being at the highest, want matter of which makes theire mindes the more languishing, and have many reprefentacions of perilles, and fhadowes, which makes theire mindes the leffe cleare. And this is one reason alsoe of that effect which the Scripture speaketh of That the Kinges heart is inscrutable; For multitude of Iealoufves, and lacke of fome predominant defier, that should marshall, and putt in order all the rest, maketh

Mens heartes hard to finde, or found. Hence comes it likewife, that Princes manie tymes make themfelves Defieres, and fett theire heartes yponn Toyes,

IV. 1612. æt. 52.

9. Of Empire.



T is a miferable flate of minde, to haue few things to defire,

and many things to feare: and vet, that commonly is the case of Kings: who being at the highest, want matter of defire: which makes their mindes languishing. more and haue many reprefentations of perrilles and shadowes, which makes their minds the leffe And this is one cleere. reason also of that effect. which the Scripture speaketh of: That the Kings heart is inscrutable. multitudes of iealousies. and lacke of fome predominant defire, that should marshall and put in order all the rest, maketh any mans heart hard to finde. or found. Hence commeth it likewife that Princes many times make themfelues defires, and their hearts vpon toies;

VI. Variations in posthumous Latin Edition of 1638.

¹ Shadowes. Umbrarum volitantium, 'flitting shadows.' 2 Speaketh of. Regibus tribuit, 'attributes to kings.'

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British Museum Copy. 19. Of Empire.



T is a miferable State of Minde, to haue few Things to defire.

and many Things to feare: And yet that commonly is the Case of Kings: Who being at the highest, want Matter of defire. which makes their Mindes

more Languishing; And haue many Reprefentations of Perills and Shadowes,1 which makes their Mindes the leffe cleare. And this is one Reason also of that Effect. which the Scripture speaketh of;2 That the Kings heart is infcrutable.a For Multitude of Iealousies, and Lack of fome predominant defire, that should marshall and put in order3 all the rest, maketh any Mans Heart, hard to finde, or found.4 Hence it comes likewife. that Princes. many times, make themfelues Defires, and fet their Hearts vpon toyes:

a Prov. xxv. 3.

³ Marshall and put in order. Imperet, 'command.'
4 Finde, or sound. Exploratu, 'examine.'

III. 1607-12. æt. 47-52. fometymes vponn a building,

fometymes vponn the advauncing of a person, sometymes vponn obtayning excellencie in some art, or seate of the hand.

IV. 1612. æt. 52.

fometimes vpon a building; fometimes vpon an order; fometimes vpon the aduancing of a perfon; fometimes vpon obtaining excellency in fome Arte, or feate of the hand:

and fuch thinges incredible which feeme to those that knowe not this principle That the minde of Man is more cheared, and refreshed by profitinge in fmale things, then by flanding at a flay in great. Therefore great, and fortunate Conquerours in theire first yeares.

tourne Melancholie and superflitious in theire later, As did Alexander the great, and in our memorie Charles the fift, and manie others. Ffor he that is vfed to goe forwarde, and findeth a flopp falleth out of his owne favour.

and fuch like things, which feeme incredible to those that know not the principle; That the minde of man is more cheered and refreshed by prositing in small things, then by standing at a stay in great. Therefore great and fortunate Conquerors in their first veeres.

turne melancholy and fuperstitious in their latter, As did Alexander the great, and in our memory Charles the fifth, and many others. For he that is vsed to goe forward, and findeth a stoppe, falleth out of his owne fauour.

Building. Aedificia extruenda, 'erecting buildings.'
Order. Ordinem aliquem aut Collegium, 'some order or college.'

æt. 65.

Sometimes vpon a Building; Sometimes vpon Erecting of an Order; Sometimes vpon the Advancing of a Perfon; Sometimes vpon obtaining Excellency in fome Art, or Feat of the Hand;

As Nero for playing on the Harpe, Domitian for Certainty of Hand with the Arrow, Commodus for playing at Fence, Caracalla for driving Chariots, and the like.⁷

This feemeth incredible vnto those, that know not the Principle; That the Minde of Man is more cheared, and refreshed, by profiting in small things, then by standing at a stay in wreat. We see also that K

grout. We see also that Kings, that have beene

fortunate Conquerors8 in

their first yeares; it being not possible for them to goe forward infinitely, but that they must have some Checke or Arrest in their Fortunes;

turne in their latter

yeares, to be Superstitious and Melancholy:

As did Alexander the Great; Dioclesian;

And in our memory, Charles the fift; And others: For he that is vfed to goe forward, and findeth a Stop, falleth out of his

owne fauour, and is not the Thing he was.

⁷ And the like. Omitted in the Latin.
8 Fortunate Conquerors. In Victoriis et provinciis subjugandis, maxime feilces, 'very fortunate in victories and in subduing provinces.'

III. 1607-12. æt. 47-52. IV.

A true

temper of government is a rare thing;

For both Temper, and Diftemper confift of contraryes. But it is one thing to mingle Contraryes, another to interchaunge them. The aunsweare of Apollonius Vefpasian is full of excellent Instruccion. Vefpafian asked him what was Neroes ouerthrowe he aunfweared Nero could touch and tune the Harp well, But in government fometymes he vfed to wynd the pynnes to highe, and foretymes to let them downe to Lorere. And certaine it is, that nothing destroyeth authoritye fo much as the vnequall and vntymely interchaunge of preffing power and imbasing Maies-The wifedome of all theis latter tymes in Princes affaiers is rather fine Deliverves. and shiftinges of daungers and mischeifes when they are neare, then folid and grounded courfes to

IV. 1612. æt. 52.

temper of gouernment is a rare thing:

A true

For both temper and diftemper confift of contra-But it is one thing to mingle contraries, another to interchange them. The answer of Apolonius Vespasian is full to excellent instruction. Vespafian asked him, What was Neroes overthrow: hee answered: Nero touch and tune the Harpe well; But in government fometimes he vsed to winde the pinnes to hie, and fometimes to let them downe too lowe. And certaine it is, that nothing destroieth authority, fo much as the vnequall and vntimely interchange of preffing power and relaxing power.

wisdome of all these latter times, in Princes affaires, is rather fine deliueries, and shiftings of dangers and mischieses when they are neere, then solide and grounded courses to

⁹ To Vespasian. Omitted in the Latin.

¹⁰ Vnequall. *Inequalem, et quasi subsultoriam*, 'unequal, and as it were. fitful (jumping).'

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æt. 65.

To fpeake now of the true Temper of Empire: It is a Thing rare, and hard to keep: For both Temper and Diftemper confift of Contraries. But it is one thing to mingle Contraries, another to enterchange them. The Answer of Apollonius to Vefpasian,9 is full of Excellent Instruction: Ve/pasian asked him; What was Neroes overthrow? He answered: Nero could touch and tune the Harpe well; But in Government, fometimes he vfed to winde the pins too high, fometimes to let them downe too low a And certaine it is, that Nothing destroieth

Authority fo much, as the vnequall10 and vntimely Enterchange of Power Pressed too farre,

and Relaxed too much.

This is true: that the wifdome of all these latter Times in Princes Affaires. is rather fine Deliueries. and Shiftings 11 of Dangers and Mischiefes, when they are neare; then folid and grounded Courfes 12 to

^a Philostratus. Vità Appolloni Tyanensi. v. 28. Lord Bacon. Apop. 51.

¹¹ Deliueries and Shiftings. Ut conquirantur magis et aptentur Remedia

et subterfugia, 'rather to seek and apply remedies and subterfuges.'

12 Courses. Ut Prudentia solida et constanti, depellantur et summoveantur, antequam impendeant, 'to dispel and remove them by solid and consistent prudence before they are imminent.

III. 1607-12. æt. 47-52. keepe them aloofe. But

IV. 1612. æt. 52. keep them aloofe.

lett men beware how they neglect and fuffer matter of trouble to be prepared; For noe Man can forbidd the sparke, nor tell whence it may come. The difficulties in Princes bufineffe are many tymes great, but the greatest difficultye is often in theire owne minde. Ffor it is Common with Princes. (faieth Tacitus) to will contradictories; Sunt plerumque Regum voluntates vehementes, et inter se contrariæ. For it is the Solecisme of power, to thinke to commaunde the end, and yet not to enduer the meane.

let men beware how they neglect and fuffer matter of trouble to bee prepared: for no man can forbid the sparke, nor tell whence it may come. The difficult nesse in Princes businesse are many times great, but the greatest difficulty, is often in their For it is owne minde. with Princes common (faith Tacitus) to will contradictories. Sunt plerunque Regum voluntates vehementes, et inter se contrariæ. For it is the Solocifme of power, to thinke to command the ende, and yet not to endure the meane.

¹³ Neglect... prepared. Obdormiscant circa Turbarum Materias primas, et Inchoamenta, 'slumber during the first matters and beginnings of troubles.' 14 Sparke. Scintillam, Incendium parituram, 'the spark, which will produce a conflagration.'

uce a configration.

15 Tell. Regiones Metiri, 'judge the place.'

16 Difficulties. Difficultates et Impedimenta, 'difficulties and hindrances.'

17 Great. Omitted in the Latin.

18 Minde. Affectus et mores, 'disposition and manners.'

19 Power. Potentiæ nimiæ, 'too much power.'

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(faith Tacitus^a) to will Contradictories. Sunt plerumque Regum voluntates vehementes, et inter fe con-

trariæ.

æt. 65.

keepe them aloofe. But this is but to try Masteries with Fortune: And let men beware, how they neglect, and suffer Matter of Trouble, to be prepared: ¹³ For no Man can forbid the Sparke, ¹⁴ nor tell¹⁵ whence it may come. The difficulties ¹⁶ in *Princes* Businesse, are many and great; ¹⁷ But the greatest difficulty, is often in their owne Minde. ¹⁸ For it is common with *Princes*,

Solœcifme of Power,¹⁹ to thinke to Command²⁰ the End, and yet not to endure²¹ the Meane.

**Kings* haue to deale with their *Neighbours*; their *Wines*; their *Children*; their *Prelates* or *Clergie*; their *Nobles*; their *Second-Nobles* or *Gentlemen*; their *Neighbours*; their *Second-Nobles* or *Gentlemen*; their *Second-Nobles* or *Gentle

For it is the

And from all these arise Dangers, if Care and Circum-spection be not vsed.

First for their *Neighbours*; There can no generall Rule²² be given, (The Occasions are so variable,) save

Merchants; their Commons; and their Men of Warre;

^a Not Tacitus, but Sallust. Sed plerumque regiæ volumlates, ut vehementes, sic mobiles, sæpe ipsæ sibi advorsæ. 'The wills of most kings, as they are violent, so are they fickle and often at variance with themselves.' Jugartha. cxiii.

²⁰ Command. Posse . . . pro arbitrio assequi, 'to be able to attain at his desire.'

²¹ Endure. Procurare, 'attend to.'

²² Rule. Regula aliqua certa Cautionis, 'no certain rule of caution.'

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²³ And this is generally . . . hinder it. This sentence is omitted in

²⁴ Emperour. Hispano, 'of Spain.'
25 Either by confederation, or if need were, by a Warre. Omitted in the

²⁶ Lawfull. Competens et legitima, 'sufficient and lawful.'

V. 1625. æt. 65.

one: which euer holdeth; which is, That Princes doe keepe due Centinell, that none of their Neighbours doe ouergrow fo, (by Encrease of Territory, by Embracing of Trade, by Approaches, or the like) as they become more able to annoy them, then they were. And this is, generally, the work of Standing Counfels to forefee, and to hinder it.23 During that Triumuirate of Kings, King Henry the 8. of England, Francis the I. King of France, and Charles the 5. Emperour,24 there was fuch a watch kept, that none of the Three, could win a Palme of Ground, but the other two, would ftraightwaies ballance it, either by Confederation, or, if need were, by a Warre; 25 And would not, in any wife, take up Peace at Interest. And the like was done by that League (which, Guicciardine faith, was the Security of Italy) made betwene Ferdinando King of Naples; Lorenzius Medices, and Ludouicus Sforza, Potentates, the one of Florence, the other of Millaine. Neither is the Opinion, of fome of the Schoole-Men, to be received: That a warre cannot infily be made, but upon a precedent Iniury, or Provocation. For there is no Queftion, but a just Feare, of an Imminent danger, though there be no Blow given, is a lawfull²⁶ Caufe of a Warre.

For their Wines; There are Cruell²⁷ Examples of them. Liuia is infamed for the poyloning of her husband: 28 Roxolana, Solymans Wife, was the destruction, of that renowned Prince, Sultan29 Muslapha; And otherwife troubled his 30 House, and Succession: Edward the Second of England, his Queen, had the principall hand, in the Deposing and Murther of her Husband. This kinde of danger, is then to be feared, chiefly, when the Wives have Plots, for the Raising of their owne Children: 31 Or elfe that they be Aduoutreffes.

²⁷ Cruell. Crudelia et atrocia, 'cruel and savage.'
28 Hu-band. Angusti, 'of Augustus.'
29 Sultan. Omitted in the Latin.
30 His. Mariti sui, 'her bushand's.'

³¹ Children. Liberos ex priore Marito, 'children by a former husband.'

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³² Of dangers. Omitted in the Latin
33 Turks. Sultanorum, 'of the Sultans.'
34 Strange. Omitted in the Latin.
25 Towardnesse. Spei, 'hope.'
36 His other Sonne. Qui ex filiis ejus superstes fuit, 'his son who survived.'
37 Did little better. Omitted in the Latin.

Repentance. Mærore et pænitentia, 'grief and repentance.'
 Baiazet. Bajazetem patrem suum, 'Bajazet, his father.'

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For their Children: The Tragedies, likewife, of langers³² from them, have been many. And generally, the Entring of Fathers, into Suspicion of their Children, hath been euer vnfortunate. The destruction of Mustapha, (that we named before) was fo fatall to Solymans Line, as the Succession of the Turks, 33 from Solvman, vntill this day, is suspected to be vntrue, and of strange34 Bloud; For that Selymus the Second was thought to be Supposititious. The destruction of Crifpus, a young Prince, of rare Towardneffe,35 by Constantinus the Great, his Father, was in like manner fatall to his House; For both Constantinus, and Constance, his Sonnes, died violent deaths; And Confantius his other Sonne, 36 did little better; 37 who died, indeed, of Sicknesse, but after that Iulianus had taken Armes against him. The destruction of Demetrius, Sonne to Philip the Second, of Macedon, turned ypon the Father, who died of Repentance.38 And many like Examples there are: But few, or none, where the Fathers had good by fuch diffrust; Except it were, where the Sonnes were vp, in open Armes against them; As was Selymus the first against Baiazet; 39 And the three Sonnes of Henry the Second, King of England.

For their Prelates; when they are proud and great, there is also danger from them: As it was, in the times of Anfelmus, and Thomas Becket, Archbishops of Canterbury; who with their Crossars, did almost 40 try it. with the Kings Sword; And yet they had to deale with Stout and Haughty Kings; William Rufus, Henry the first, and Henry the second. The danger is not⁴¹ from that State, ⁴² but where it hath a dependance of forraine Authority;43 Or where the Church-

Almost. Omitted in the Latin.
 Is not. Non est magnopere pertinescendum, 'is not much to be feared.'
 That State. Preclatis, 'prelates.'
 Fornaine authority. Auctoritate et Yurisdictione Principatus externs, 'authority and jurisdiction of a foreign power.'

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⁴⁴ Come in. Omitted in the Latin.
45 Collation. Omitted in the Latin.
46 Particular Patrons. Patronis Ecclesiarum, 'patrons of churches.'
47 Keep at a distance. Suntilli certe cohibendi, et tanquam in justa distrutia a Solio Regali continendi, 'they ought assuredly to be restrained, and kept as it were at a proper distance from the King's throne.'
48 Depressed. Perpetuo deprimebat: 'continually depressed.'
49 Loyall. In Fide et Officio, 'in faith and duty.'
40 Fain to doe. Sustineret, 'maintained.'

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men come in,44 and are elected, not by the Collation45 of the King, or particular Patrons, 46 but by the People.

For their Nobles; To keepe them at a distance,47 it is not amisse; But to depresse them, may make a King more Absolute, but lesse Safe; And lesse able to performe any thing, that he defires. I have noted it, in my History of King Henry the Seuenth, of England, who depressed his Nobility; Whereupon, it came to passe, that his Times were full of Difficulties and Troubles; For the Nobility, though they continued loyall49 vnto him, yet did they not co-operate with him, in his Businesse. So that in effect, he was faine to doe⁵⁰ all things, himfelfe.

For their Second Nobles; There is not much danger from them, being a Body dispersed. They may sometimes discourse high, but that doth little Hurt: Befides, 51 they are a Counterpoize 52 to the Higher Nobility, that they grow not too Potent: And lastly, being the most immediate in Authority,53 with the Common People, they doe best temper Popular Commotions.

For their Merchants; They are Vena porta; And if they flourish not, a Kingdome may have good Limmes, but will have empty Veines, and nourish little.54 Taxes, and Imposts⁵⁵ vpon them, doe feldome good to the Kings Revenew; For that that he winnes in the Hundred,56 he leefeth in the Shire;57 The particular Rates being increased,58 but the totall Bulke of Trading rather decreafed.

For their Commons; There is little danger from

a The Gate-vein.

⁵¹ Besides. Quinimo fovendi sunt, 'besides they should be cherished.'
52 Counterpoize. Optime temperent, 'moderate well.'
53 Authority. Gubernacula tractent, 'manage the helm.'
54 Nourish little. Habitum Corporis macrum, 'lean habit of body.'
55 Imposts. Portoria immodica, 'excessive imposts.'
65 Hundred. Partibus, 'in parts.'
67 Shire. Summa, 'in the total.'
68 The particular Rates being increased. Omitted in the Latin.

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*Princes are like the heavenly bodyes which cause good, or evill tymes, and which have much veneration, but noe reft. All preceptes concerning kinges are in effect comprehended in those two Remembrances. Memento auod es Homo and Memento quod es Deus.

The one to bridle their power and, The other their will.

Princes are like to the heauenly bodies, which cause good or euill times: and which have much veneration, but no rest. All precepts concerning Kings are in effect comprehended in those two remembrances. Memento quod es homo, and Memento auod es Deus or Vice dei: The one bridle their power, and the other their will.





^{*} This passage is inserted in the margin in a different hand. ? Sir F. Bacon's.

Great. Populares, 'popular.'
 Customes. Consuetudinibus antiquis; Vel in Gravaminibus Tributorum, 'ancient customs, or grievances of tribute.'
 Meanes of Life. Vel in aliis qua victum corum decurtant, 'or in any-

thing which diminishes their means of life.

¹² In a Body. Si in Corpus unum cogantur, vel Exercitus, vel præsi diorum; 'if they are collected in a body either as an army or as garrisons.'

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them, except it be, where they have Great⁵⁹ and Potent Heads; Or where you meddle, with the Point of Religion; Or their Customes, 60 or Meanes of Life. 61

For their Men of warre; It is a dangerous State, where they liue and remaine in a Body, 62 and are vfed to Donatiues; whereof we fee Examples⁶³ in the Ianizaries, and Pretorian Bands of Rome; 64 But Traynings of Men, and Arming them in feuerall places, and vnder feuerall Commanders, and without Donatiues, are Things of Defence,65 and no Danger.

Princes are like to Heavenly Bodies, which cause⁶⁶ good or euill times: And which haue⁶⁷ much Veneration, but no Rest. All precepts concerning Kings, are in effect comprehended, in those two Remembrances: Memento quod es Homo; And Memento quod es Deus, or Viceb Dei: The one bridleth their Power, and the other their Will.68



[&]quot; Remember that thou art man,

b Remember that thou art God, or, in the place of God.

⁶³ Examples. Clarissima Exempla, 'most clear examples.'
64 Bands of Rome. Omitted in the Latin.
65 Defence. Utiles, et salubres, 'profitable and serviceable'
66 Cause. In fluxu suo producunt, 'produce in their course.'
67 Haue. Gaudent, 'enjoy.'
68 Their will. Ad Voluntatem regendam, 'to rule their will.'

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Harleian MS, 5106.

26. Of Councell.



He greatest trust betweene Man. and man is the trust of giveing

Councell. Ffor in other confidences Men committ the partes of theire life. theire landes, theire goodes, Childe, theire theire Creditt, fome particular affaier. But to fuch as they make theire Councellours, they committ the whole; by how much the more they are obliged to all faith, and Integrity. The wifeft Princes neede not thinke it anie diminution to theire greatnes, or derogation to theire fufficiency, to relye vponn councell. God himfelf is not without, but hath made it one of the great of his bleffed names sonne the Counfellor. Salomon hath pronounced that In Counfell is Stabilitie. Thinges will have

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10. Of Counsell.



He greatest trust betweene man. trust of giuing

counfell. For in other confidences men commit the partes of their life, their lands, their goods, child. their credit; fome particuler affaire. But to fuch as they make their counfellors, they commit the whole; by how much the more they are obliged to all faith, and integrity. The wifest Princes need not thinke it any diminution to their greatnesse, or derogation to their fufficiency, to rely vpon counfell. God himfelfe is not without: but hath made it one of the great names of his bleffed (the Counfellor.) Salomon hath pronounced, that In Counfel is stabilitie. Things will haue their first, or second agita- their first or second agita-

VI. Variations in posthumous Latin Edition of 1638.

¹ They. Qui partes Consiliariorum prastant, 'those who perform the part of counsellors.'

2 Greatnesse. Auctoritatis, 'authority.'

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British Museum Copy.

20. Of Connsell.



He greatest Trust, betweene Man and Man, is the Trust of Giving

For in other Counfell. Confidences, Men commit the parts of Their Lands, their Goods, their Children, their Credit, fome particular Affaire: But to fuch, as they make their Counfellours, they commit the whole: By how much the more, they1 are obliged to all Faith and integrity. The wifest Princes, need not thinke it any diminution to their Greatnesse,2 or derogation to their Sufficiency,3 to rely vpon Counfell.4 God himfelfe is not without:5 But hath made it one of the great Names, of his bleffed Sonne; The Counfellour.a Salomon hath pronounced, that In Counfell is Stability.b Things6 will haue their first, or second Agita-

b Prov. xx. 18. a Isaiah ix. 6.

³ Or derogation to their Sufficiency. Omitted in the Latin. Consell. Consilio Virorum selectorum, 'counsel of chosen men.'
 Without. Consilio vacat, 'without counsel.'
 Things. Res humanæ, 'human things.'

III. 1607-12. æt. 47-52. cion; if they be not toffed vponn the arguments of Councell, they wilbe toffed voonn the waves of fortune and be full of inconstancye, doeing, and vndoeing, like the reeling of a drunken Man. Salomons sonnes found the force of Councell, as his father fawe the necessity of it. For the beloved kingdome of God was first rent, and broken by ill counfell. vponn which Councell there are fett for our Instruccion, the two markes whereby bad Counfell is forever best discerned, that it was young Councell for the persons, and violent Councell for the matter.

The auncient tymes doe fett fourth in figure both the incorporacion, and infeparable coniunction of Councell with Kinges, and the wife and politique vfe of Councell by kinges; the one in that they fay *Iupiter* did

V. 1612. æt. 52. tion; if they bee not vpon the arguments of counfell, they will be toffed vpon the waves of Fortune: and bee full of inconstancy, doing, and vndoing, like the reeling of a drunken Salomons fonne found the force of counfell, as his father faw the necessitie of it. For the beloued kingdome of God was first rent and broken by ill counfell: vpon which counfel there are fet for our instruction, the two markes. whereby bad counfell is for euer best discerned. that it was young counfell for the persons, and violent counfell for the matter.

The ancient times doe fet forth in figure both the incorporation, and infeperable conjunction of counfell with Kinges; and the wife and politike vie of Counfell by Kings: the one, in that they fay Iupiter did

 ⁷ Inconstancy. Inconstantiæ, et Mutationum, 'inconstancy and changes.
 8 Necessitv. Necessitatem et usum, 'necessity and use.'

et. '5.

tion: If they be not toffed vpon the Arguments of Counfell, they will be toffed vpon the Waues of Fortune; And be full of Inconstancy,7 doing, and vndoing, like the Reeling of a drunken Man. Salomons Sonne found the Force of Counfell, as his Father faw the Necessity8 of it. For the Beloued Kingdome of God was first rent, and broken by ill Counfell; Vpon which Counfell, there are fet,9 for our Instruction, the two Markes, whereby Bad Counfell is, for euer, best discerned : That it was young Counfell, for the Persons; And Violent Counfell, for the Matter.

The Ancient Times 10 doe fet11 forth in Figure, both the Incorporation, and inseparable Coniunction of Counfell with Kings; And the wife and Politique vse of Counfell by Kings: The one, in that they fay, Iupiter did

Set. Inustæ, 'branded.'
 Times. Sapientia, 'wisdom.'
 Set. Adumbravit, 'shadowed.

III. 1607-12. æt. 47-52. marrie Metis which fignifieth Councell; So as Soveraignetye, or Authoritie is marryed to Councell; the other in that which followeth which was thus. They fay after Iupiter was married to Metis, she conceived by him, and was with childe; But Iupiter fuffred her not to flav till fhe brought fourth, but eate her vpp, whereby he became childe, and was delivered of Pallas armed out of his head; which mon-

strous fable conteineth a fecrett of Empire, how

kinges are to make vfe of theire Councell of State.

That first they ought to

referre matters to

them which is the first

begetting, or impregna-

cion; but when they are

elaborate, moulded, and

shaped in the wombe of

theire Councell, and grow ripe, and ready to be

brought fourth, then that

IV. 1612. æt. 52. marrie Metis (which fignifieth Counfell.) Soueraignty or authority is married to counfel. The other in that which followeth; which was thus, They fay after Iupiter was married to Metis, shee conceiu'd by him, and was with childe, but Iupiter fuffered her not to flav till shee brought fourth, but eate her vp; whereby hee became child and was deliuered of Pallas, armed out of his head. Which monstrous fable containeth a fecret of Empire: How Kings are to make vie of their Counfell of state. That first they ought to referre matters them, which is the first begetting or impregnation; but when they are elaborate, moulded, and shaped in the wombe of their counfell and growe ripe, and ready to be brought fourth; that then they fuffer not theire Counthey fuffer not their coun-

marry Metis, which fignifieth Counfell: Whereby they intend, that Soueris aignty married to Counfell: The other, in that which followeth, which was thus: 12 They fay after Iupiter was married to Metis, she conceiued by him, and was with Childe; but Iupiter fuffered her not to flay, till she brought forth, but eat her vp; Wherby he became himfelfe Child, and was delivered of Pallas Armed, out of his Head. Which monftrous Fable, containeth a Secret of Empire; How Kings are to make vie of their Councell of State. That first, they ought to referre 13 matters them, which is the first Begetting or Impregnation; 14 But when they are elaborate, moulded, and shaped, in the Wombe of their Councell, and grow ripe, and ready to be brought forth; That then, they fuffer not their Coun-

14 Begetting or Impregnation. Conceptie, 'conception.

¹³ Referre. Deliberandas committant, 'refer for deliberanon.'

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cell to goe throughe with the refolucion, and direccion, as if it depended vponn them, but take the matters backe into theire owne hand, and make it appeare to the world that the decrees and finall (which direccions because they come forth with prudence, and power, are refembled to Pallas armed) proceede from themselves; and not onely from theire authority, but the more to add reputacion to themselves. from their head, and devife.

The inconveniences that have been enoted in calling, and ving Councell are three—Ffirst the revealing of affayres whereby they become leffe fecrett. Secondly the weakening of the authoritie of Princes, as if they were leffe of themselves; Thirdly the daunger of being vnfaithfullie councelled, and more for the good of them that

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fel to go through, with the resolution and direction, as if it depended vpon them; but take the matter back into their own hand, and make it appeare to the world, that the decrees and final directions (which cause they come forth with prudence, and power, are refembled to armed) proceeded from themselues: and not onely from their authority, but (the more to adde reputation to themselues) from their heade and denice.

The inconueniences that haue beene noted in calling and vfing counfell, are three. First, the reuealing of affaires, whereby they become lesse fecret. Secondly, the weakning of the authority of Princes, as if they were lesse of themselues. Thirdly, the danger of being vnfaithfully counselled, and more for the good of them that

Resolution and direction. Decretum, 'resolution.'
 On them. Ex eorum Auctoritate, 'upon their authority.'

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cell to goe through with the Refolution, and direction,15 as if it depended on them; 16 But take the matter backe into their owne Hands, and make it appeare to the world, that the Decrees, and finall Directions, (which, because they come forth with Prudence, and Power, are refembled to Pallas Armed) proceeded from themselues: And not onely from their Authority, but (the more to adde Reputation to Themselues) from their Head, and Dewice. 17

Let vs now speake of the Inconveniences of Counfell, and of the Remedies. The Inconveniences, that haue been noted in calling, and vfing Counfell, are three. First, the Reuealing 18 of Affaires, whereby they become leffe Secret. Secondly, the Weakning of the Authority of Princes, as if they were leffe 19 of Themselues. Thirdly, the Danger of being vnfaith-

fully counfelled, and more for the good of them that

Deuice. Auctoritate, 'authority.'
 Reuealing. Omitted in the Latin.
 Were lesse. Minus ex se penderent. 'depended less upon themselves.'

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councell, then of him that is councelled. Ffor which inconveniences the doctrine of *Italie*, and practize of Fraunce

hath introduced Councelles. a remedy the worfe than difeafe. which bath tourned Metis the wife, to Metis Mistresse. that is councelles of State which Princes are* solem!v marryed, to councells of gracious persons recommended cheifly by flattery and affection.

But for fecrecie, Princes are not bound to communicate all matters with all councellours, but may and felect. extract. Neither is it necessarve. that he that confulteth what he should doe, should declare what he will doe: But lett Princes beware that the vnfecreting theire affaires come not from themselves: and as for Cabanett Councell It may be theire Mot plenus rimarum sum; one IV. 1612. æt. 52.

counfel, then of him that is counfelled. For which inconveniences, the doctrine of *Italy*, and practife of France,

hath introduced counfels. a remedy worfe then the difeafe.

But for fecrecy, Princes, are not bound to communicate all matters with all Councellors, but may extract and Neither is it necessarie. that hee that confulteth what hee should doe; should declare what hee will doe. But let *Princes* beware that the vnfecreting their affaires come not from themselues. as for Cabanet Counfell, may be their Mot, Plenus rimarum fum. One

^{* †} The word 'solemly' has been struck out here; and the words 'flattery and' have been inserted below in a different hand; ? Sir F. Bacon's.

Counselled. Principis ipsius, 'the prince himself.'
 Cabinet. Interiora, quæ vulgo vocantur Cabinetti, 'inner councils. which are commonly called cabinets.

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counfell, then of him that is counfelled.²⁰ For which Inconueniences, the Doctrine of Italy, and Practife of France, in fome Kings times, hath introduced Cabinet²¹ Counfels; A Remedy worse then the Disease.

As to Scerecy; 22 Primes are not bound to communicate all Matters, with all Counfellors; but may felect.23 and extract Neither is it necessary. that he that confulteth what he should doe, should declare what he will doe. But let Princes beware. that the vnsecreting of their Affaires, comes not from Themselues. as for Cabinet Counfells, it may be their Motto; Plenusrimarum sum: a One

a I am full of rifts. Terence. Eunuchus. i. 2.

²² Secrecy. Occultationem Consiliorum, 'secrecy of councils.'
²³ After select. Tam Personas, quam Negotia, 'as well the persons as the business.'

III. 1607-12. æt. 47-52. futile person, that maketh it his glorie to tell, will doe more hurt, then manie. that knowe it theire duetie to keepe councell.

IV. 1612. æt. 52. futile person, that maketh it his glory to tell, will do more hurt, then manie that know it their dutie to conceale.

For weakening of authority. The fable sheweth the remedve

For weakning of authority, the fable fheweth the remedy:

Neither was there ever neither was there euer Councell, except where Counfell, except an over-greatnesse in one, or an over-strict Combinacion in dinerfe.

prince bereaved of his dependances by his dependances by his there hath bene either there hath been either an ouergreatnesse in one, or an ouerstrict combination in dinerfe.

Forthelastinconvenience, Forthelastinconvenience

Tell. Arcana nosse et retegere, 'to know and disclose secrets.'
 Beyond. Ultra notitiam, 'beyond the knowledge of.'
 Hand-Mill. Proprio Marte validus, 'strong in his own strength.'

Inward. Omitted in the latin.
 True. Omitted in the Latin.

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futile person, that maketh it his glory to tell,24 will doe more hurt, then many, that know it their duty

conceale. It is true, there be fome Affaires, which require extreme Secrecy, which will hardly go beyond 25 one or two persons, besides the King: Neither are those Counfels vnprosperous: For besides the Secrecy, they commonly goe on constantly in one Spirit of Direction, without distraction. But then it must be a Prudent King, fuch as is able to Grinde with a Hand-Mill; 26 And those Inward 27 Counfellours, had need also, be Wife Men, and especially true 28 and trusty to the Kings Ends: As it was with King Henry the Seuenth of *England*, who in his greatest Businesse.²⁹ imparted himfelfe to none, 30 except it were to Morton, and Fox.

Weakening Authority; The Fable

sheweth the Remedy. Nay the Maiesty of Kings, is rather exalted, then diminished, when they are in the Chaire of Counfell:

Neither was there euer Prince, bereaued of his Dependances,³¹ by his Councell; Except where there hath beene, either an Ouergreatnesse in one Counfellour,

Or an Ouerstrict Combin-

ation in Diuers; which are Things 32 foone found, and holpen.

For the last Inconvenience.

²⁹ His greatest Businesse. Arcana sua majoris momenti, 'his secrets of greater importance.'

³⁰ None. Duobus tantummodo Consiliariis, 'to two councillors alone.
31 Dependances. Auctoritate, 'authority.'
42 Things. Mala, 'evils.'

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that Men will councell with an eve to themselves. Certainely Non inveniet fidem super terram, is meant of the nature of tymes, and not of all particular persons. There be that are in nature faithand fincere and plaine, and direct, not craftye, and involved; lett Princes above all drawe to themselves such natures: Befides Councelles are not commonly fo vnited, but that one

keepeth Sentinell over another.

But the best remedy is, if Princes know theire Councellours as well as their Councellours knowe them. Principis est virtus maxima nosse fuos. And on the other side, Councellours should not be to Speculative into theire Sovereignes person. The true Composicion of a Councellour is rather to be skilfull in theire Maisters businesse, then in his nature, for then he is like to advise

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that men will counfell with eie to themfelues. an Certainlie, Non inveniet fidem fuper terram, is meant of the nature of times, and not of all particuler perfons. There bee that are in nature faithfull and finceare. and plaine, and direct, not craftie and involved. Let Princes aboue all, draw to themselues such natures. Befides, counfels not commonly fo vnited, but that one keepeth Sentinell ouer an other.

But the best remedie is, if *Princes* know their councellors, as a their Counfellors know them, *Principis est virtus maxima nosse fuos*. And of the other side Councellors should not be too speculative into their Soueraignes person. The true composition of a Councellor, is rather to be skilfull in their Masters businesse, then in his nature: For then he is like to aduise

³³ Themselues. Suæ rei . . non Domini, 'their own affairs, not their masters.'
34 After Certainly. Scripturam illam, 'that text.'

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that Men will Counfell with an Eye to themfelues; 33 Certainly,34 Non inveniet Fidem fuper terram, a is meant of the Nature of Times, and not of all particular Persons; There be, that are in Nature, Faithfull, and Sincere, and Plaine, and Direct; Not Crafty, and Involued: Let Princes, aboue all, draw to themselues such Natures. Befides, Counfellours are not Commonly fo vnited, but that one Counfellour keepeth Centinell ouer An-

other; So that if any do Counfell out of Faction, or private Ends, it commonly comes to the Kings Eare.

But the best Remedy is, if Princes know their Counfellours, as well as their Counfellours know them: Principis est virtus maxima nosse fuos. And on the other side, Counfellours should not be too Speculatiue, into their Soueraignes Person. The true Composition of a Counfellour, is rather to be skilful in their Masters Businesse, then in his Nature; For then he is like to Aduise

a Luke xvin. 8.

b It is the greatest vertue of a Prince to know his own. Martial Epigr. viii. 15.

 $\cap f$

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him, and not to feede his humor. It is of finguler vfe to Princes, if they take the opinions of theire Councell, both feparately, and togither. For priuate opinion is more free; but opinion before others is more reverent. private, Men are more bold in theire owne humours, and in confort. Men are more obnoxious others humors. Therefore it is good to take both, and of the inferiour forte rather in private.

the greater rather in Com-

panie.

It is in vaine for Princes to take Councell concerning matters, if they take not Councell likewife concerning persons. Ffor all matters are as dead Images, and the life of the execucion of affavres resteth in the good choise cerning persons Secundum ing persons,

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him, and not to feed his humor. It is of finguler vse to Princes, if they take the opinions of their Councell, both feneratly and together. For priuate opinion is more free, but opinion before others is more reuerent. priuate, men are more bold in their own humors; and in confort. men are more obnoxious others humors. Therefore it is good to take both, and of the inferiour fort rather in private to preferue freedome: the greater rather in confort, to preferue respect. It is in vain for *Princes* to take counfell concerning matters: if they take no counfell likwife cerning perfons. For all matters are as dead images, and the the execution of affaires resteth in the good choise of persons. Neither is it of persons. Neither is it enoughe to confulte con- enough to confult concerngenera, as in an Idea, or genera, as in an Idea, or

<sup>Opinions. Opiniones et Vota, 'opinions and wishes.'
Are more bold. Plus inservit, 'serve more.'
Obnoxious. Obnoxius, 'deferential.'
Humours. Affectibus, 'assumptions.'</sup>

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him, and not to Feede his Humour. It is of fingular vse to Princes. if they take the Opinions³⁵ of their Counfell, both Seperately, and Together. For Priuate Opinion is more free; but Opinion before others is more Reuerend. priuate, Men are more bold³⁶ in their owne Humours; And in Confort. Men are more obnoxious37 others Humours;38 Therefore it is good to take both: And of the inferiour Sort, rather in private, to preserve Freedome; Of the greater, rather in Confort, to preferue Respect.39 It is in vaine for Princes to take Counfel concerning Matters, if they take no Counfell likewise 40 concerning Perfons: For all Matters, are as dead Images; And the Life of the Execution of Affaires. resteth in the good Choice 41 of Perfons. Neither is it enough to confult concerning Perfons, Secundum genera, a as in an Idea, or

a According to classes.

³⁹ Preserue Respect. Ut modestius Sententiam ferant, "that they may give their opinions more moderately."
40 Likewise. Diligenter quoque, 'diligently also.'
41 Good Choice. Delectu, 'choice.'

III. 1607-12. æt. 47-52. Mathematicall descripcion kind person should of be. but

in *indiuiduo* for the greatest errors, and the greatest Iudgement are

shewed in the choice of Individualls.



IV. 1612. æt. 52. Mathematicall description. what kind

of person should be; but in individuo: For the greatest errors and the

greatest iudgement are shewed in the choice of Individuals

It was truely faid, Optimi Confiliarii mortui. Bookes will fpeake plaine, when Councellors blanch. Therefore it is good to be conversant in them, specially the books of fuch as themselues haue beene Actors vpon the Stage.



a The best counsellors are the dead, "Alonso of Aragon was wont to say of himselfe; That he was a great Necromancer, for that he weed to aske Coursell of the Dead; meaning Books." Lord Bacon. Apophth. No. 105. Ed. 1625.

b In the night there is counsell.

⁶ Mr. W. A. Wright quotes the following explanation of this phrase from Morth's translation of Plutarch. *Coriolanus*, p. 249. Ed. 1577: "But hereby appeareth plainely, how king *Numa* did wisely ordaine all other ceremonies concerning deuotion to the goddes, and specially this custome which he stablished, to bring the people to religion. For when the magistrates, bishoppes, priestes, or other religious ministers goe about any deutine service, or matter of religion, an herauld euer goeth before them, crying out aloud, Hoc age: as to say, doe this, or mind this."

⁴² Most Indgement is shewne. Judicii Libra maxime versatur, 'the balance of judgment is most used.'

⁴³ Truly said. Memoria tenendum, 'must be kept in the memory.'
44 Blanch. In Adulationem lapsuri, 'will slip into flattery.'

æt. 65.

Mathematicall Description, what the Kinde and Character of the Person should be:

For the greatest Errours are committed, and the most Iudgement Thewne, 42 in the choice of Individuals.

It was truly faid, 43 Optimi Confiliarii mortui :a Books will speake plaine, when Counfellors Blanch.44 Therefore it is good to be conversant in 45 them; Specially the Bookes of fuch, as Themselues haue been Actors vpon the Stage.46

The Counfels, at this Day, in most Places, are but Familiar Meetings; 47 where Matters are rather talked on, then debated. And they run too swift to the Order or Act of Counfell. It were better, that in Causes of weight, the Matter were propounded one day, and not spoken to,48 till the next day; In Nocte Confilium. b So was it done, in the Commission of Vnion, between England and Scotland; which was a Graue and Orderly Affembly. I commend fet Daies for Petitions:49 For both it gives the Suitors more certainty for their Attendance; And it frees the Meetings for Matters of Estate, 50 that they may Hoc agere.c

⁴⁵ Be conversant in. Multum revolvere, 'turn over much.'

⁴⁶ Actors vpon the Stage. Gubernacula Rerum tractarunt, 'have managed the helm of affairs.'

<sup>The tings. Congressus, et colloquia, 'meetings and conversation.'
Not spoken to. Tractaretur, 'treated.'
Petitions. Petitiones privatas, 'private petitions.'
Meetings for Matters of Estate. Solenwores Conventus, 'more solemn</sup> meetings.'

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51 Indifferent. Qui æqui sint, et in neutram partem propendeant, 'who are indifferent and lean to neither side.'

52 Standing. Non tantum temporaneas, aut e re nata; sed etiam con-tinuatas, et perpetuas, 'not only temporary or for a certain thing, but also continual and perpetual.'

53 As. Exempli gratia; Quæ curent separatim, 'as for example, which

should be administered separately.'

should be administered separately."

4 Suits. Gratias; Gravamina; 'favours; complaints.'

55 Particular. Subordinata, 'subordinate.'

66 Of Estate. Superius, 'higher.'

57 Let. Si Casus postulet, 'if the case require.'

58 Professions. Muneris aut professionis, 'duty or profession.'

59 After Mint-men. Mercatoribus, Artificibus, 'merchants, artisans'

60 In a Tribunitious Manner. More Tribunitio, 'after the manner of a tribune fi.e. in a tumultuous, turbulent manner.'

61 After enforme. Ut decet, 'as is proper.'

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In choice of Committees, for ripening Bufineffe, for the Counfell, it is better to choose Indifferent 51 persons. then to make an Indifferency, by putting in those, that are strong, on both sides. I commend also flanding 52 Commissions; As 53 for Trade; for Treasure; for Warre; for Suits:54 for fome Prouinces: For where there be divers particular 55 Counfels, and but one Counfell of Estate, 56 (as it is in *Spaine*) they are in effect no more, then Standing Commissions; Saue that they have greater Authority. Let57 fuch, as are to informe Counfels, out of their particular Professions, 58 (as Lawyers, Sea-men, Mint-men, 59 and the like) be first heard, before Committees; And then, as Occasion ferues, before the Counfell. And let them not come in Multitudes, or in a Tribunitious Manner;60 For that is, to clamour Counfels, not to enforme 61 them. A long Table, and a fquare Table, or Seats about the Walls, 62 feeme Things of Forme, but are Things of Substance: For at a long Table, a few at the upper end, in effect, fway all the Businesse; But in the other Forme, there is more vse of the Counfellours Opinions, that fit lower. A King, when he prefides in Counfell, let him beware how he Opens his owne Inclination too much, in that which he propoundeth: 63 For else Counfellours will but take the Winde of him; And in flead of giuing Free Counfell, fing him a Song of Placebo.



⁶² After Walls. Cameræ Consilii, 'of the council chamber.'
83 In that which he propoundeth. Omitted in the Latin.

III. 1607-12. æt. 47-52.

Harleian MS. 5106.

27. Of Atheisme.



Had rather beleeve all the in the fables Legend,

and the Alcaron.

then that this vniuerfall frame is without a minde And therefore God never wrought miracle to convince Athiestes because his ordinary workes convince them. Certainely a litle Philosophie inclineth to Atheisme, but depth in Philosophie bringeth Men about to Religion; for when the minde of Man looketh vponn fecond causes scattered. fometymes it refleth in But them. when it beholdeth them confederate, and knitt togither, flyes to pro-

doth

ifme.

strate

IV. 1612. æt. 52.

14. Of Atheisme.



Had rather beall the leeue fables in the Legend,

and the Alcaron. then that this vniuerfall frame is without a minde. And therefore God neuer wrought myracle to conuince Atheists, because his ordinary works conuince them. Certainely, little Philosophie inclineth mans minde to Atheisme, but depth in Philosophie bringeth men about to Religion. For when the minde of man looketh vpon fecond causes scattered.

fometimes it resteth in them: but when it beholdeth,

them confederat, and knit together, flies to providence, and deitye. Most uidence, and Deitie. Most of all that schoole which of all, that schoole which is most accused of Athe- is most acused of Atheisme. doth demon-Religion, that is ftrate Religion. That is,

VI. Variations in posthumous Latin Edition of 1638.

demon-

¹ Rather. Minus durum est, 'it is less hard.'
2 All the Fables. Portentosissimis Fabulis, 'the most monstrous fables'

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British Museum Copy.

16. Of Atheisme.



HAD rather¹ beleeue all the Fables² in the *Legend*, and the

Talmud, and the Alcoran. then that this vniuerfall Frame, is without a Minde. And therefore, God neuer wrought Miracle, to conuince Atheifme, because his Ordinary Works conuince it. It is true, that a little Philosophy³ inclineth Mans Minde to Atheisme; But depth in Philosophy bringeth Mens Mindes about to Religion: For while the Minde of Man, looketh vpon Second Caufes Scattered, it may fometimes rest in them, and goe no further: But when it beholdeth, the Chaine of them, Confederate and Linked together, it must needs flie to Prouidence, and Deitie. Nay euen that Schoole, which is most accused of Atheifme,4 doth most demonstrate Religion; That is,

Philosophy, Philosophiæ Naturalis, 'natural philosophy.'
 Atheisme. Atheismi, si quis vere rem introspiciai, 'atheism, if one truly consider the matter.'

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the Schoole of Leucippus, and Democritus, and Epicurus; ffor it is a thowfand tymes more credible that Fower mutable Elementes and one immutable 5th effence duely and eternally placed neede noe God; then that an Armie of infinite fmale porcions,

vnplac'd should have produc'd this order. and beautye without divine Marshall. The Scripture faith The foole hath faied in his heart there is noe God. It is not faied The foole hath thought in his heart, so as hee rather faieth it by rote to himfelf, as that he would have, then that he can throughlie beleeve it, or be perfuaded of it. For none denie there is a God. but those for whom it maketh that there were noe God.

the Schoole of Leusippus, and Democritus, and Epicurus. For it is a thou fand times more credible that foure mutable Elements, and one immutable fifth Effence, duly and eternally placed, neede no God: then that an Army of infinite fmall portions or feeds vnplaced, should haue produced this order. and beauty, without divine Marshall. Scripture faith, The foole hath faid in his heart, there is no God. It is not faid, The foole hath thought in his heart. So as he rather faith it by rote to himselfe, as that he would haue: then that hee can throughly beleeue it, or bee perswaded of it. For none denie there is a God. but those for whom it maketh, that there were no God.

⁵ Vuplaced. Sine Ordine fortuito vagantium, 'wandering by chance without order.'

⁶ Marshall. Ædili, 'superintendent' By rote. Omitted ir the Latin

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the Schoole of Leucippus, and Democritus, and Epicurus. For it is a thoufand times more Credible, that foure Mutable Elements, and one Immutable Fift Effence, duly and Eternally placed, need no God; then that an Army, of Infinite fmall Portions. or Seedes vnplaced, 5 should haue produced this Order. and Beauty, without a Dinine Marshall.6 The Scripture faith; The Foole hath faid in his Heart. there is no God: a It is not faid: The Foole hath thought in his Heart: So as, he rather faith it by rote 7 to himfelfe, as that he would haue, then that he can throughly beleeue it, or be perswaded of it. For none denv8 there is a God, but those, for whom it maketh9 that there were no

God. It appeareth in nothing more, that Atheifme is rather in the Lip, then in the Heart of Man, then by this; That Atheifls will euer be talking 10 of that their Opinion, as if they fainted in it, within themselues, and would be glad to be strengthned, by the Consent of others: Nay more, you shall have Atheisls striue to

a Ps. xiv. 1. b See p. 121,

⁸ Deny. Deos non esse credit, 'believe there are no gods.'

It maketh. Expedit, 'it is advantageous.'
 Talking. Prædicent et defendant, 'preaching and defending.'

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Epicurus is charged that he did but diffemble for his Creditt fake, when he affirmed there bleffed natures, but fuch as enioved themselves without having respect to the governement of the world; wherein they fay he did temporize, thoughe fecrett, he thought there was noe God. But certainely, he is traduced. For his Wordes are noble. and divine Non deos vulgi negare profanum, fed vulgi opiniones Diis applicare profanum Plato could have faied noe more. And althoughe he had the confidence to denie the administracion, he had not the power to denie that nature. The *Indians* of the West have names for theire particuler Godes, thoughe they have noe one

Epicurus is charged that he did but diffemble for his credits fake, when he there affirmed bleffed natures, but fuch as enioved them felues, without having respect to the gouernment of the world. Wherein they fav, he did temporife. though fecret, hee thought, there was no God. tainly hee is traduced; for his words are noble and diuine. Non Deos vulgi negare profanum, fed vulgi opiniones Dijs applicare profanum. Plato could have faid no more. And although he had the confidence to denie the administration; he had not the power to deny the nature. The Indians of the West, have names for their particuler gods, though they have no

¹¹ Suffer. Mortem et Cruciatus subierunt, 'have undergone death and tortures.'

¹² And not recant. Potius quam Opinionem suam retractare sustinerent, 'rather than bear to retract their opinion,'

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get *Disciples*, as it fareth with other Sects: And, which is most of all, you shall have of them, that will suffer the for *Atheisfme*, and not recant; ¹² Wheras, if they did truly thinke, that there were no such Thing as *God*, why should they trouble themselves?

Epicurus is charged, that he did but diffemble, for his credits fake, when he affirmed: There were Bleffed Natures, but fuch as enjoyed themselues, without having respect to the Gouernment of the World. Wherein, they fay, he did temporize; though in fecret, he thought, there was no God. 13 But certainly, he is traduced: For his Words are Noble and Diuine: Non Deos vulgi negare profanum; fed vulgi Opiniones Dijs applicare profanum.ª Plato could have faid no more.14 And although, he had the Confidence, to deny the Administration,15 he had not the Power to deny the Nature. The Indians of the West, have Names for their particular Gods, though they have no

^{*} It is not profane to deny the gods of the people: but it is profane to attribute to the gods, the beliefs of the people. Diog. Laert. x. 123.

¹³ God. Deos, 'gods.' 14 More. Melius, 'better.' 15 Administration. Divinam rerum Administrationem, 'divine administration of things.'

III. 1607-12. æt. 47-52. name for God, as if the Heathers thould have had beathers thould have had

the names Iupiter, Appollo, Mars, Etc., but not the word, Deus; which shewes they have the notion. though not the full extent. So that against Athiestes the most barbarous Savages take part with the

fubtilest Philosophers.

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name for God: as if the the names, Iupiter, Apollo, Mars, etc., but not the word Deus: which shewes vet they have the notion though not the full extent. So that against Atheists, the most barbarous Sauages, take part with the fubtillest Philosophers.

[Expanded and transposed here in the 1625 Edition, from the Effay Of Superstition of the 1612 Edition; see p. 346.]

They that denie a God, They that deny a God,

¹⁶ Extent. Omitted in the Latin.

¹⁷ Receiued Religion. Religionem aliquam, 'any religion.'
18 Name. Nomen et Nota, 'name and mark.'
19 Maine. Omitted in the Latin.
20 Scoffing. Ludendi et Yocandi, 'playing and joking.'

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name for God: As if the Heathens, should have had

the Names *Iupiter*, Apollo, Mars, &c. But not the

Word Deus: which shewes, that even those Barbarous People, have the Notion,

though they have not the Latitude,

and Extent 16 of it. So that against *Atheists*, the

very Sauages

take part, with the very fubtillest Philosophers. The Contemplative Atheist is rare; A Diagoras, a Bion, a Lucian perhaps, and fome others; And yet they feeme to be more then they are; For that, all that Impugne a received Religion, 17 or Superstition, are by the adverse Part, branded with the Name 18 of Atheists. But the great Atheists, indeed, are Hypocrites; which are euer Handling Holy Things, but without Feeling. So as they must needs be cauterized in the End. The Caufes of Atheifme are; Divisions in Religion, if they be many; For any one maine 19 Diuision, addeth Zeale to both Sides; But many Diuisions introduce Atheisme. Another is, Scandall of Priests; When it is come to that, which S. Bernard faith; Non est iam dicere, vt Populus, sic Sacerdos: quia nec sic populus, vt Sacerdos. A third is. Custome of Profane Scoffing20 in Holy Matters; which doth, by little and little, deface the Reuerence of Religion. And laftly, Learned Times, specially with Peace, and Prosperity: For Troubles and Aduersities doe more bow Mens Mindes to Religion.

They that deny a God,21

a It cannot now be said, as are the people, so is the priest; because the people are not so bad as the priest. St. Bernard. Sermones and Pastores. Opera, p. 1752. Ed. 1640

²¹ God. Deos. 'Gods'

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destroy mans nobilitye; Ffor certainlie Man is of kin to the beaftes by his body, and if he be not of kin to God by his fpiritt, he is a base and ignoble Creature. It destroves likewife Magnanimitie, and the rayling of humaine nature. For take an Example of a dogg. and marke what a generofitye, and courage he will putt on, when he findes himself mainteyned by a Man, which to him is instead of a God, or melior natura; which courage is manifestlie such, as that Creature without that Confidence of a better nature then his owne. could never attaine. man when he resteth and affureth himfelfe vponn divine proteccion, and favour, gathereth a force, and faith, which humaine nature in it felf could not obtavne. Therefore as Atheisme is in all refpects hatefull, So in this, that it depriveth humaine nature, of the meanes to exalte it felf above hu-

IV. 1612. æt. 52. destroy mans nobility. For certainely man is of kinne to the beafts by his body; and if he bee not of kin to God by his fpirit, he is a base and ignoble creature. It destroies likewise magnanimity, and the raising of humane nature. For, take an example of a dog. and marke what a generofity and courage he will put on, when hee findes himselfe maintained by a man, which to him is inflead of a god, or Melior natura: Which courage is manifestly such, as that creature, without that confidence of a better nature then his owne. could neuer attaine. So man when he resteth and affureth himfelfe voon Divine protection and fauour; gathereth a force, and faith, which humane nature in it felfe could not obtaine. Therefore as Atheisme is in all refpects hatefull: So in this. that it depriueth humane nature of the meanes to

exalt it felfe, aboue hu-

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destroy Mans Nobility: For certainly, Man is of Kinne to the Beafts, by his Body; And if, he be not of Kinne to God, by his Spirit, he is a Base and Ignoble Creature. It destroies likewise Magnanimity, and the Raifing of Humane Nature: For take an Example of a Dog; And mark what a Generofity, and Courage he will put on, when he findes himselfe maintained, by a Man; who to him is in flead of a God, or Melior Natura: which courage is manifestly such, as that Creature, without that Confidence, of a better Nature, than his owne, could neuer attaine. So Man, when he resteth and affureth himfelfe, vpon Protection, and diuine Fauour, gathereth a Force and Faith; which Humane Nature, in it felfe, could not obtaine. Therefore, as Atheifme is in all refpects hatefull, fo in this, that it depriueth humane Nature, of the Meanes, to

exalt it felfe, aboue Hu-

a A Better Nature. Ovid. Metamorphoses. i. 21.

III. 1607-12. æt. 47-52. maine frailtye. As it is in particular perfons, fo it is in Nacions. Never was there fuch a State for Magnanimitye, as Rome: of this State heare what Cicero faieth, Quam volumus licet Patres Conscripti, nos amemus: tamen numero Hispanos, nec robore Gallos, nec calliditate Poenos, nec artibus Græcos, nec denique hoc ipfo huius gentis et terræ, domestico, nativoque fenfu Italos ipfos et Latinos; fed pietate, ac religione, atque hac vna Sapientia, quod Deorum immortalium numine omnia regi, gubernarique perspeximus, omnes gentes, Nationesque superanimus.

IV. 1612. æt. 52. mane frailty. As it is in particuler perfons; fo it is in Nations. Neuer was there fuch a flate for magnanimity as Rome. Of this state, heare what Cicero faith; Quam volumus licet. P. nos amemus, tamen nec numero Hispanos, nec robore Gallos, nec Calliditate Panos, nec artibus Græcus, nec denique hoc ipfo huius gentis et terræ domestico, nativoque sensu Italos ipfos et Latinos: 1ed pietate, ac religione, atque hac vnå fapientia quod Deorum immortalium numine omnia regi, gubernarique perspeximus, omnes gentes, Nationefque superauimus.





²² Neuer was there. Nunquam Gens airqua æquavit, 'never any State equalled.'

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mane Frailty. As it is in particular Perfons, fo it is in Nations: Neuer was there 21 fuch a State, for Magnanimity, as Rome: Of this State heare what Cicero faith; Quam volumus, licet, patres confcripti. nos amemus, tamen nec numero Hispanos, 1100 robore Gallos, nec calliditate Pænos, nec artibus Græcos, nec denique hoc ipso huius Gentis et Terræ domestico nativoque fenfu Italos ipfos et Latinos; fed Pietate, ac Religione, atque hâc vnâ Sapientiâ, quod Deorum Immortalium Numine, omnia regi, gubernarique perspeximus, omnes Gentes Nationefque fuperanimus a



^a Let us appland ourselves as much as we please, O conscript fathers: yet it is not because we have surpassed the Spaniards in number, or the Gauls in strength, or the Carthaginians in cunning, or the Grecian in arts, or lastly the Italians and Latins themselves in that native inborn sense peculiar to this race and land; but that in piety and religion, and, in this especial wisdom, that we perceive that all things are governed by the divine power of the immortal gods, it is, that we have overcome all races and nations. Cicero. De Haruspicum Responsis. ix.

III. 1607-12. æt. 47-52.

IV.

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Harleian MS. 5106.

28. Of Superstition.



T were better to have noe opinion of God at all. then such

opinion as is vnworthie of him; For the one is Vnbeleife, the other is Contumelie: and certainlye fupersticion is the reproach of the Devtie.

15. Of Superstition.



T were better to haue no opinion of God at all: then fuch

opinion as is vnworthy of him; For the one is vnbeliefe, the other is Contumely; and certainely fuperstition is the reproch of Deitie.

Atheifme leaves a Man to fence, to Philosophie, to naturall piety, to Lawes, to reputacion, all which may be guides vnto

Vertue thoughe Religion were not, but Superflicion difmountes all theis, and erecteth an abfolute Tyranny in the minde of Men. There- minde of men.

Atheisme leaves a Man to fense, to Philosophy, to naturall piety, to lawes, to reputation, all which may bee guides vnto

vertue, though Religion were not: but fuperstition dismounts all these, and erecteth an abfolute Tyranny in the

DE. Variations in posthumous Latin Edition of 1638.

No. Nullam aut incertam, 'none, or an uncertain.'
 Vnworthy. Contumeliosam, et indignam, 'ignominious and unworthy.'
 Contumely. Impietatis et Opprobrii, 'impiety and contumely.'
 Eat. Comedere et devorare, 'eat and devour.'

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British Museum Copy.

17. Of Superstition.



T were better to haue no¹ Opinion of God at all: then fuch

Opinion, as is vnworthy2 of him: For the one is Vnbeleefe, the other is Contumely³: And certainly Superstition is the Reproach

of the Deity. Plutarch faith well to that purpose: Surely (faith he) I had rather, a great deale, Men Should fay, there was no fuch Man, at all, as Plutarch; then that they should fay, that there was one Plutarch, that would eat⁴ his Children, as foon as they were borne, a as the Poets speake of Saturne. And, as the Contumely⁵ is greater towards God, fo the Danger is greater towards Men.

Atheifme leaues 6 a Man to Senfe; to Philosophy; to Naturall Piety; to Lawes; to Reputation;7 All which may be Guides to an outward Morall vertue, though Religion were not; But Superstition dismounts all these, and erecteth an abfolute Monarchy, in the Mindes of Men.

a Plutarch. De Superstitione, x.

Contumely. Contumelia Superstitionis, 'contumely of superstition.'
 Leaues. Non provisus convellit Dictamina Sensus, 'does not entirely take away the dictates of sense.'
 Reputation. Eonæ Famæ Desid..ium; 'desire of good reputation.'

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fore Atheisme did never perturbe States, for it makes Men warie of themfelves, as lookeing noe further. And wee fee the tymes inclyned to Atheifme. as the tyme of Augustus Cæfar, and our owne tymes in fome Countryes were and are civill tymes. But Superstition hath bene the Confusion, and defolacion of manie states. and bringes in a new primum mobile that ravvfheth all the Spheres of governement. The Master of Supersticion is the People, and in all Superflicion, wife Men followe Fooles. and Arguments are Fitted to practize, in a reverfed order.

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fore Atheisme did neuer perturbe flates: for it makes men wary of themfelues, as looking further: and we fee the times inclined to Atheifme, as the time of Augustus Cæfar, and our owne times in fome Countries. were, and are, ciuill times. But Superstition, hath beene the confusion and diffolation of many flates: and bringeth in a new Primum Mobile that rauisheth al the spheres of gouernment. The mafter of Superstition is the people: and in al superstition, wife men follow fooles: and arguments are fitted to practife, in a reverfed order.

Neuer. Karo, 'rarely.'
 As looking no further. Et securitati sue consulentes, 'and regardful of their safety,'

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fore Atheisme did neuer8 perturbe States; For it makes Men wary of themfelues, as looking no further:9 And we fee the times enclined to Atheisme (as the Time of Augustus Cæfar)

ciuil10 Times. were But Superstition, hath beene the Confusion

of many States;11 And bringeth in a new Primum Mobile, that rauifheth all the Spheares of Gouernment. The Mafter of Superflition is the People: And in all Superstition, Wife Men follow Fooles: And Arguments are fitted to Practife, in a reuerfed

Order. It was grauely faid, by fome of the Prelates, in the Councell of Trent, where the doctrine of the Schoolemen bare great Sway; That the Schoolemen were like Astronomers, which did faigne Eccentricks and Epicycles, and fuch Engines of Orbs, to faue the Phenomena; though they knew, there were no fuch Things:a And, in like manner, that the Schoolmen, had framed a Number of fubtile and intricate Axiomes, and Theorems, to faue the practife of the Church.

^a P. Sarpi. Historia del Concilio Tridentino. Bk. ii. p. 222. Ed. 1619. The passage is thus translated by N. Brent, "Some pleasant wits said, that if the Astrologers, not knowing the true causes of the celestiall motions, to salue the appearances, haue invented Eccentriques, and Epicicles, it was no wonder if the Councel, desiring to salue the appearances of the supercelestiall motions, did fall into excentricitie of opinions." p. 227. Ed. 1620.

Ciuil. Tranquilla, 'quiet.'
 States. Regnis et Rebus-publicis, 'Kingdoms and States.'

III. 1607-12. æt. 47-52.

There is noe fuch Atheift, as an Hypocrite, or Impoftor, and it is not possible, but where the generalityeis Superstitious. manie of the Leaders are Hypocrites. The caufes of Atheifme are; divisions in Religion; fcandall Preistes; and learned tymes; fpecially if profperous; thoughe for devisions, anie one mayne division addeth zeale to both fides, but manie divisions introduce Atheisme.

The causes of Superflicion are; the pleasing of Ceremonyes, the excesse of outward holynesse, the Reverence of Traditions, the stratagems of Prelates for their owne ambicion,

and lucre.

IV. 1612. æt. 52.

There is no fuch Atheift, as an Hipocrite, or Imposter: and it is possible, but where the generality is superstitious. many of the leaders are Hipocrits. The causes of Atheisme are, divisions in Religion: fcandall Priefts; and learned times: fpecially if profperous; though for divisions, any one maine division addeth zeale to both fides, but many diuisions introduce Atheifme.

The causes of Superstition are, the pleasing of Ceremonies; the excesse of outward holinesse; the reuerence of traditions; the stratagems of Prelats for their owne ambition

and lucre.

and barbarous tymes; fpecially with calamities and difasters. Supersticion without his vaile is a deformed thing.

and barbarous times, fpecially with calamities, and difasters. Superstition without his vaile is a deformed thing,

¹² Taking an Aime . . . by Human. Exemplorum importuna et inepta petitio ab humanis, quæ in Divina transferantur, 'the inopportune and tool ish taking of examples from human things to transfer them to divine things.'

V. 1625. æt. 65.

[Transferred in an expanded form to the Effay, Of Atheism: see p. 337.]

The Caufes of Superstition

are: Pleasing and fensuall Rites and

Ceremonies: Excesse

of Outward and Pharifaicall Holinesse; Ouer-great Reuerence of Traditions, which cannot but load the The Stratagems of Prelates [Church;

for their owne Ambition

and Lucre: The Fauouring too much of good Intentions, which openeth the Gate to Conceits and Nouelties; The taking an Aime¹² at diuine Matters by Human, which cannot but breed mixture of Imaginations; ¹³

And laftly, Barbarous Times, Efpecially ioyned with Calamities and Difafters. Superfition, without a vaile, is a deformed Thing;

¹³ Imaginations. Fantasiarum male coluerentium. 'disconnected imaginations.'

IV.

1607-12. æt. 47-52. ffor as it addes deformity to an Ape to be fo like a Man, fo the Similitude litle wormes; fo good formes, and orders, corrupt into a number of pettie observances.

1612. æt. 52. for as it addeth deformity to an Ape, to be fo like a man: So the fimilitude of Supersticion to Religion of Superstition to Religion, makes it the more de- makes it the more deformed; And as whole-formed. And as wholefome meate corrupteth to fome meate corrupteth to little wormes; fo good formes and orders, corrupt into a number of pettie obferuances.





<sup>Good. Bonæ et sanæ, 'good and sound.'
Petty. Pusillas et superfluas, 'petty and superfluous.'
Doe best. Saniorem et puriorem viam inire, 'enter a sounder and</sup> purer way. 17 After would be had. In Religione reform nda, 'in reforming religion.'

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For, as it addeth deformity to an Ape, to be fo like a a Man; So the Similitude of Superstition to Religion, makes it the more deformed. And as whole fome Meat corrupteth to little Wormes; So good 14 Formes and Orders, corrupt into a Number of petty¹⁵

There is a Superstition, in auoiding Observances. Superstition; when men thinke to doe best, 16 if they goe furthest from the Superstition formerly received: Therefore, Care would be had, 17 that, (as it fareth in ill Purgings¹⁸) the Good be not taken away, with the Bad; 19 which commonly is done, when the People is the Reformer. 20



 ¹⁸ Ill Purgings. In Corpore purgando. in purging of the body.'
 19 Bad. Corruptis, 'corrupt.'
 20 Reformer. Reformatio regitur a Populo, 'reformation is directed by the people.'

III. 1607-12. æt. 47-52.

Harleian MS. 5106.

29. Of Praise.



Raife is the Reflexion of vertue, but it is as the glaffe, or

giveth body. 1S which the reflexion; if it be from the Common People it is commonly false, and naught, and rather followeth vavne persons, then vertuous. For the Common People vnderstand not manie excellent vertues; The lowest vertues drawe praise from them, the middell vertues worke in them aftonishement, or admiracion, but of the highest vertues they have noe fence, or perceiving att all. But shewes, and Species virtutibus similes serve best with them. Certainely Fame is like a River that beareth vp thinges light, and fwolne. and drownes thinges weightie, and folid: But if persons of quality and Iudgement concurre.

IV. 1612. æt. 52.

35. Of Praise.



Raife is the reflection of vertue: but it is as the glaffe, or

is. which giueth the reflection. If it be from the common people, it is commonly false and naught: and rather followeth vaine perfons, then vertuous: for the common people vnderstand not many excellent vertues: the lowest vertues draw praise from them, the middle vertues worke in them aftonishment, or admiration; but of the highest vertues they have no fense or perceiuing at all. Butshewes, and Species virtutibus similes, serue best with them. Certainly, Fame is like a Riuer that beareth vp things light, and fwolne; and drownes things waighty and folid: But if persons of quality and iudgement concur,

VI. Variations in posthumous Latin Edition of 1638.

¹ Or the Bodie. Trahit aliquid e Natura Corporis, 'it draws comething from the nature of the body.'

V.

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British Museum Copy.

53. Of Praise.



Raife is the Reflection of Vertue. But it is as the Glaffe or

which giueth Bodie.1 the Reflection. If it be from the Common People. it is commonly False and Naught: And rather followeth Vaine²Perfons, then Vertuous: For the Common People vnderstand not many Excellent Vertues: The Lowest Vertues draw Praise from them; the middle Vertues worke in them Aftonishment, or Admiration; But of the Highest Vertues, they have no Senfe, or Perceiuing at all. But Shewes, and Species virtutibus similes, ferue best with them. Certainly, Fame is like a Riuer, that beareth vp Things Light and Swolne, And Drownes Things waighty and Solide: But if perfons of Qualitie and Iudgement concurre,3

a Qualities resembling virtues. Tacitus. Annales. xv. 48.

² Vaine. Vanos et tumidos, 'vain and pompous.'

³ Concurre. Cum vulgo concurrunt, 'concur with the common people.'

III. 1607-12. æt. 47-52.

then it is as the Scripture faieth) Nomen bonum instar vnguenti fragrantis. filleth all round about, and will not eafily away. For the odours of Oyntementes, are more durable then those of Flowers. There be fo manie false pointes of praife, that a Man may iustly hold it suspect. Some praifes proceede meerly of flattery, and if hee be an ordinary Flatterer, he will have certaine Common Attributes which may ferve every Man; If he be a Cunning Flatterer he will followe the Archflatterer which is a Mans felf, and wherein a Man thinketh best of himfelf therein the Flatterer will vphold him most; But if he be an impudent Flatterer, looke wherein a Man is conscient to himfelf, that he is most defective, and is most out of countenance in himfelf, that will the flatterer in-

IV. 1612. æt. 52.

then it is as the Scripture faith, Nomen bonum instar vnguenti fragrantis; filleth all round about, and will not eafily away. For odor of ointments are more durable then those of flowers. bee fo many false pointes of praife, that a man mav iustly hold it suspect. Some praifes proceeds meerely of flattery: and if he bee an ordinary flatterer, he will haue certaine common atributes. which may ferue euery man: if he bee a cunning flatterer hee will follow the Archflatterer, which is a mans felfe, and wherein a man thinketh best of himfelfe, therein the flatterer will vphold him most: But if hee bee an impudent flatterer, looke wherein a man is conscient to himfelfe, that he is most defective, and is most out of countenance in himfelfe, that wil the flatterer en-

Common. Communibus . . . non vuesitis aut appositis, 'common . . . not studied or appropriate,'
 A Man thinketh best. Tibi places, aut teipsum excellere putas, 'places yourself, or think that you excel.'

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then it is, (as the Scripture faith) Nomen bonum instar vnguenti fragrantis.a filleth all round about, and will not eafily away. the Odours of Ovntments. are more Durable, then those of Flowers. be fo many False Points of Praife, that a Man may iuftly hold it a Suspect. Some Praises proceed meerely of Flattery; And if hee be an Ordinary Flatterer, he will have certaine Common⁴ Attributes, which may ferue euery Man; If he be a Cunning Flatterer, he will follow the Arch-flatterer, which is a Mans felfe; and wherein a Man thinketh best⁵ of himfelfe, therein the Flatterer will vphold6 him most: But if he be an Impudent7 Flatterer, look wherin a Man is Confcious to himfelfe, that he is most Defective, and is most out of Countenance in himselfe. that will the Flatterer En-

a Eccles. vii. r.

Wphold. Iis inharebit, 'will keep to those,'

⁷ Impudent. Impudens, et perfrictæ Frontis, 'impudent and of a shameless forchead.'

III. 1607-12. æt. 47-52. IV. title him to perforce Spreta Conscientia. Some praifes come of good refrectes. wishes and which is a fourme due in Civility to Kings and great persons; laudando præcipere; when by telling Men what they are, they represent to them what they should bee. Some Men are praifed maliciously to theire hurt, thereby to stirre envy and Iealousie towardes them; peffimum genus inimicorum laudantium.

title him to perforce; Spreta conscientia. praifes come of good wishes and refrects. which is a forme due in ciuility to Kings great persons, Laudando præcipere; when by telling men what they are, they represent to them what they should bee. Some men are praifed maliciously to their hurt, therby to flirre enuie and ielousie towards them: Pessimum genus inimicorum laudantium.

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Certainely moderate praise vsed with oportunitye, and not vulgar, but appropriate, is that which doth the good Salomon faieth He that praifeth his freind alowde, rifing early, it shalbe to him noe better then a Curfe. To much magnifying of Man, or matter, doth irri-

Certainly moderate praise vsed with opportunity, and not vulgar, but appropriate, is that which doth the good. Salomon faith, Hee that praifeth his friend aloud, rifing early, it shall bee to him no better then a curfe. Too much magnifying of man or matter, doth irri-

⁸ Entitle. Imputabit, et affiget, 'impute and attribute.'
9 Represent. Humiliter moneas, 'humbly warn.'
10 Nose. Nari, 'nostril.'
11 Is that which doth the Good. Honori vel maxime esse, 'is a very great honour.

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title8 him, to perforce, Spretà Confcientià.a Some Praises come of good Wifhes, and Respects, which is a Forme due in Ciuilitie to Kings, and Great Persons. Laudando præcipere; When by telling Men, what they are, they represent9 to them, what they should be. Some Men are Praised Maliciously to their Hurt, therby to stirre Enuie and Iealousie towards them: Pessimum genus Inimi-

corum laudantium; In 10 much as it was a Prouerb, amongst the Grecians; that, He that was praised to his Hurt, should have a Push rise vpon his Nose: As we say; That a Blister will rise vpon ones Tongue, that

tell's a lye. Certainly Moderate Praife, vfed with Opportunity, and not Vulgar, is that which doth the Good. 11 Salomon faith, He that praifeth his Frend aloud, Rifing Early, it shall be to him, no better then a Curfe. d Too much Magnifying of Man or Matter, doth irri-

In disdain of conscience.

To teach in praising.
The worst kind of enemies, eulogists. Tacitus Agricolo. 42
Prov. xxvii. 14.

1607-12. æt. 47-50 IV. III. 1612. æt. 52. Contradiction, and tate contradiction, and procure Envye and skorne procure enuie and fcorne.





 ¹² Enuie. Omitted in the Latin.
 13 After Profession. Aut studia quibus se addixit, 'or the studies to which he is given.

¹⁴ Sbirrerie, Hispanico Vocabulo, Sbirrarias, 'by the Spanish word, Sbirrerie.

¹⁶ Which is Vnder-Sheriffries. Omitted in the Latin.'
16 Though many times . . . Speculations. Ac si Artes illæ memoratæ, magis ejusmodi Homines, quam in Fastigio Cardinalatus positos, decerent:

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tate Contradiction, and procure Enuie¹² and Scorne.

To Praife a Mans felfe, cannot be Decent, except it be in rare Cases: But to Praise a Mans Office or Profession, he may doe it with Good Grace, and with a Kinde of Magnanimitie. The Cardinals of Rome. which are Theologues, and Friars, and Schoole-men, haue a phrase of Notable Contempt and Scorne, towards Ciuill Businesse: For they call all Temporall Businesse, of Warres, Embassages, Iudicature, and other Emploiments, Sbirrerica; hatches, Vnder Sherisfries; As if they were but matters for Vnder-Sherisfries and Catchpoles; Though many times, those Vndersherisfries doe more good, then their High Speculations. St. Paul, when he boasts of himselfe, he doth oft enterlace; I speake like a Foole; But speaking of his Calling, he saith; Magnificabo Apostolatum meum.



a 'Sbirro' in Italian, means a bailiff, catchpole, constable.
b 2 Cor. xi. 23.

c Rom. xi. 13.

Et tamen (si Res rite ponderetur.) Speculativa cum Civilibus non male miscentur, 'as if the above-mentioned arts are more fitted for men of that kind than for those placed on the pinnacle of the Cardinalate; and yet (if it is rightly considered) speculation is not ill mixed with civil matters.'

17 Sauth. Nihil veretur dicere, 'is not afraid to say.'

1607-12. æt. 47-52. III. Harleian MS. 5106.

30. Of Rature, in men.



Ature is often hidden, fometymes overcome. dome extin-

guished. Fforce maketh nature more violent in the retourne. Doctrine. difcourfe maketh leffe importune. But Custome onely doth alter nature. Hee that feeketh victorie over his nature, lett him not fett himfelf to great nor to fmale Taskes; For the First will make him dejected by often failes. and the fecond will make him a fmale proceeder thoughe by often prevaylinges. And at the first lett him practise with helpes, as Swymmers doe with bladders, or Rushes, but after a tyme, lett him practize with disadvantages, as dancers doe with thick Ffor shoes. it breeds great perfection if the practize be harder Where then the vie.

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26. Of Rature in Men,



Ature is often hidden, fometimes ouercome: feldom

guished. Force maketh nature more violent in the returne: doctrine and difcourfe maketh nature leffe importune; but custome onely doth alter and fubdue nature. Hee that feeketh victorie ouer his nature, let him not fet himfelfe to great, nor to fmall taskes. For the first will make him deiected by often failes; the fecond

and will make him a fmall proceeder, though by often preuailings. And at the first let him practise with helps as Swimmers doe with bladders, or rushes: but after a time let him practife with difaduantages, as dauncers do with fhooes. thicke For it breeds great perfection. if the Practife bee harder then the vfe.

VI. Variations in posthumous Latin Edition of 1638.

¹ TITLE. De Natura, et Indole Naturali in Hominibus, 'of nature and natural disposition in men.

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British Museum Copy.

38. Of Rature in Men.1



Ature is Often Hidden; Sometimes Ouercome; Seldome Extin-

guished. Force maketh Nature more violent in the Returne: Doctrine and Discourse maketh Nature² leffe Importune:3 But Custome onely doth alter and fubdue Nature. Hee that feeketh Victory ouer his Nature, let him not fet Himfelfe too great, nor too fmall Tasks: For the first, will make him deiected by often Faylings; And the Second will make him a fmall Proceeder, though by often Preuailings. And at the first, let him practife with Helps, as Swimmers 4 doe with Bladders, or Rushes: But after a Time, let him practife with difaduantages, as Dancers doe with thick Shooes. For it breeds great Perfection. if the Practife be harder then the vie.

² Nature. Affectus Naturales, 'the natural dispositions.'

³ After Importune. Sed non tollunt, 'but do not remove them' [i.e the natural dispositions].

⁴ Swimmers. Natatores recentes, 'new swimmers.'

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nature is mightie, and therefore the victorie hard. the degrees had neede be first to stay and arrest nature in tyme,

then to goe lesse in quantitie

and lastlie to discontynue altogither. But if a Man have the fortitude and refolucion. to infranchife himself at once, that is the beft

Optimus ille animi vindex lædentia pectus Vincula qui rupit dedoluitque femel.

Neither is it

amisse to bend nature to a contrarye extreame,

where it

a man force a habitt vponn | a man force a habite vpon

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nature is mighty, and therefore the victorie hard: the degrees had need bee, first to stay and arrest nature in time: like to him that would fay ouer the foure and twenty letters when he was gry, then to go leffe in quantitie; as if one should in forbearing wine come from drinking healthes, to a draught a meale; and lastlie to discontinue altogether. But if a man haue the fortitude and refolution to infranchife himselfe at once that is the best:

> Optimus ille animi vindex lædentia pectus Vincula qui rupit, dedoluitque femel.

Neither is the ancient rule amisse, to bend nature as a wand, to a contrary extreame, whereby to fet it right; vnderstanding it, where the contrary exis noe vice. Lett not treme is no vice. Let not

⁵ Arrest. Omitted in the Latin.

Farrest. Omitted in the Latin.

6 Foure and Twenty. Alphabeti, 'of the Alphabet.'

7 After Letters. Priusquam quicquam faceret, 'before he did anything.'

8 Before to Goe lesse. Naturam moderari, et, 'to moderate nature and.'

9 Drinking Healths. Majoribus Haustibus, 'greater draughts.'

10 A Draught at a Meale. Ad minores, 'to less draughts.'

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Nature is Mighty, and therefore the Victory hard, the Degrees had need be: First to Stay and Arrest 5 Nature in Time; Like to Him, that would fay ouer the Foure and Twenty6 Letters,7 when he was Angry: Then 8 to Goe leffe in Quantity; As if one should, in forbearing Wine, come from Drinking Healths,9 to a Draught at a Meale:10 And laftly, to Difcontinue¹¹ altogether. But if a Man haue the Fortitude, and Resolution, to enfranchise12 Himfelfe at once, that is the best :

Optimus illi Animi Vindex, lædentia peclus Vincula qui rupit, dedoluitque femel.^a

Neither is the Ancient Rule amiffe, to bend Nature as a Wand, to a Contrary Extreme, whereby to fet it right: Vnderstanding it, where the Contrary Extreme is no Vice. 18 Let not a man force a Habit vpon

^a He is the best vindicator of his mind who breaks the chains that afficthis breast, and ceases to grieve once for all. Ovid. Remedia Amoris, i. 293, 4.

¹¹ Discontinue. Naturam penitus sub jugum mittere, et domare, 'to put nature altogether under the yoke, and tame it.'

¹² Enfranchise. Eximere et vindicare, 'free and deliver.'
13 Is no Vice. In Vitium non ducat, 'does not lead to vice.'

III. 1607-12. æt. 47-52. himfelf with a perpetuall contynuance, but fome intermission: For both the pawfe reinforceth the new Onfett; and if a Man that is not perfitt be ever in practife, he shall aswell practize his errours. as his abilityes. and induce one habitt of both, and there is noe meanes to helpe this, but by feafonable intermiffions.

IV. 1612. æt. 52. himfelfe with a perpetual continuance, but fome intermission. both the paufe reinforceth the new onfet; and if a man that is not perfect be euer in practife, he shall aswell practife his rors. as his abilities. and induce one habite of both: and there is no meanes to help this, but by fefonable intermif-

fions.

Mans nature is best perceiued in priuatenesse, For there is noe affectacion, in passion for that putteth a Man out of his preceptes, and in a new Cafe, or experiment, for there cuf-They tome leaveth him. are happie Men whose natures fort with theire vo-

mans nature is best perceiued in priuatnesse, for there is no affectation; in passion for that putteth a man out of his precepts; and in a new cafe, or experiment, for there cuftome leueth him. happy men, whose are natures fort with their vo-

¹⁴ Reinforceth. Redintegrat, et adauget, 'reinforceth and increaseth.'
15 That is not perfect. Dum Tyronem agit, 'while he is a pupil.'
16 Practise. Imbibat, 'drinking.'
17 And induce one Habite of both. Omitted in the Latin.
18 Trust. Triumphum Accinas, 'sing a triumph.'

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himfelfe, with a Perpetuall Continuance, but fome Intermission. both the Paufe, reinforceth14 the new Onset; And if a Man, that is not perfect,15 be euer in Practife, he shall as well practife16 his Errours, as his Abilities: And induce one Habite of both:17 And there is no Meanes to helpe this, but by Seafonable Intermif-

But let not a Man trust 18 his Victorie ouer his Nature too farre; 19 For Nature will lay buried a great Time, and yet reuiue, vpon the Occasion or Temptation.20 Like as it was with Afopes Damofell, turned from a Catt to a Woman; who fate very demurely, at the Boards End, till a Mouse ranne before her. Therefore let a Man, either avoid the Occasion altogether; Or put Himfelfe often to it, that hee may be little moued with it.

Mans Nature is best perceiued in Priuatenesse, for there is no Affectation: In Passion, for that putteth a Man out of his Precepts;21 And in a new Cafe or Experiment,22 for there Cuftome leaueth him. Thev are happie Men, whose Natures fort with their Vo-

Farre. Cito, 'soon.'
 Temptation. Omitted in the Latin.
 Precepts. Pracepta et Regulas, 'precepts and ruies.'
 Experiment. Insolito, 'unaccustomed.'

III. 1607-12. æt. 47-52. cacions, otherwife they may fay Multum incola fuit anima mea: when they converse in those thinges they doe not affect. In Studies whatfoever a man commaundeth vponn himfelf, lett him fett howers for it: But whatfoever is agreable to his nature. lett him take noe care for anie fett tymes, For his thoughtes will flye to it of themselves, fo as the spaces of other businesse, or fludies will fuffice

IV. 1612. æt. 52. cations, otherwife they may fay, Multum incola fuit anima mea, when they converse in those things they doe not affect. In fludies whatfoeuer a man commandeth vpon himfelfe, let him fet houres for it. But whatfoeuer is agreeable to his nature. let him take no care for any fet times: For his thoughts will flye to it of themselues; so as the fpases of other businesse or studies will suffice.





²³ Vocations. Vitæ quæ Genere, 'kınd of life.'

²⁴ When they conuerse . . . Affect. Omitted in the Latin.
25 Commandeth vpon himselfe. A Natura tua alienum repereris, find foreign to your nature.

²⁶ Houres for it. Stata tempora ad ejusdem Exercitationes et Meditationes, 'set times for exercise and meditation upon it.'.

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cations;²⁸ Otherwise they may say, Multium Incola fuit Anima mea:²⁸ when they converse in those Things, they doe not Affect.²⁴ In Studies, whatsoeuer a Man commandeth vpon himselfes;²⁵ let him set Houres for it:²⁶ But whatsoeuer is agreeable to his Nature, let him take no Care, for any set Times: For his Thoughts, will slie to it of Themselves; So as the Spaces of other Businesse.

or Studies, will fuffice.²⁷ A Mans *Nature* runnes²⁸ either to Herbes, or Weeds; Therefore let him feafonably²⁹ Water the One, and Deftroy the Other.



^a Ps. cxix. 6. 'Vulgate). In the Douay version of 1609 this verse is translated My soul halh been long a sojourner: and in the Authorized Version, it stands. My soul halh long dwelt with him that hateth peace.

²⁷ So as the Spaces . . . suffice. Prout Negotia et Studia cætera permittent, 'as other business and studies will allow.'

Runnes. F.x vi innata, producit, 'produces from its inborn force.'
 Seasonably. Sedulo et tempestive, 'carefully and seasonably.'

III. 1607-12. æt. 47-52.

Harleian MS. 5106.

27. Of Custome and Concation.



Ens thoughtes are much according to theirenaturall inclinacion.

theire fpeaches according to theire learninges and infused opinions, But their edeedes are after as they have beene accustomed. And therefore as Macciauell well noteth (thoughe in an Evill favoured instance), there is noe trusting to the force of Nature nor to the bravery of wordes, except it be corroborate by Custome. His instance is, that for the atchieving of a defperate Conspiracye a Man should not rest voonn the fiercenes of any Mans nature, or his resolute Vndertakeinges, but take fuch a one as hath had his handes formerly in bloud. But Macciauell knewe not of a Frver Clement, nor a Ravillac, nor

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27. Of Custome and Concation.



Ens thoughts are much according to their inclination;

discourse fpeeches according to their learning, and infufed opinions; But their deedes are after as they have beene accustomed. And therefore as Macciauel wel noteth, (though in an euil fauoured instance) there is no trusting to the force of Nature; nor to the brauery of words; except it be corroborate by custome. His inftance is, that for the atchieuing of a defperate conspiracie a man should not rest vpon the fiercenes of any mans nature, or his refolute vndertakings, but fuch a one as hath had his hands formerly in blood. But Maccianel knew not of a Frier Clement, nor a Rauillac, nor

BH. Variations in posthumous Latin Edition of 1638.

² Desperate Conspiracie. Facinore aliquo andaci et crudeii, 'some bold and cruel deed.'

As they have beene Accustomed. Ferme antiquum obtinent, 'mostly take the old course.'

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British Museum Copy.

39. Of Custome and Education.



V.

Ens Thoughts are much according to their Inclination:

Discourse Their and Speeches according to their Learning, and Infufed Opinions; But their Deeds are after as they have beene Accustomed.1 And therefore, as Macciauel well noteth (though in an euill fauoured Instance) There is no Trusting to the Force of Nature, nor to the Brauery of Words; Except it be Corroborate by Custome. His Instance is, that for the Atchieuing of a defperate Conspiracie, 2 a Man should not rest vpon the Fierceneffe of any mans Nature, or his Refolute Vndertakings;3 But take fuch an one, as hath had his Hands formerly in Bloud.4a But Macciauel knew not of a Friar Clement, nor a Rauillac, nor

4 Hath had his Hands formerly in Bloud. Sanguinolentis, et jamdudum cædibus assuetis, 6 bloody and long accustomed to slaughter.

[&]quot; Machiavelli. Discorsi sopra la prima Deca di Tito Livio, iii. 6.

³ Vndertakings. Promissis, nedum Juramentis, 'promises, nor even oaths.'

HII. 1607-12. æt. 47-52.

a Iaureguy, nor a *

, yet his rule holdeth still, that Nature. nor the ingagement of word, are not fo forcible as Custome. Onely Superflicion is now fo well advaunced that Men of the first bloud, are as firme as Butchers by occupacion, and votarie refolucion is made equipollent to Cufin matter of bloud. In other thinges the predominancye of Cuftome is every where vifible, in foe much as a Man would wonder to heare Men professe, protest, ingage, give great wordes. and then doe just, as they have done before, as if they were dead Images. and Ingines moved onely by cuftome.

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a Iaureguy, nor a Baltazar Gerard. Vet his rule holdeth still, that nature, nor the ingagement words are not fo forcible as custome. Onelie Superstition is now fo well aduanced, that men of the first bloud, are as firme, as butchers by occupation: and votarie refolution is made equipollent to cuftome, even in matter of In other things blood. the predominancy of cuftome is euery where vifible: in fo much as a man would wonder, to heare men professe, protest, ingage, giue great words, and then doe iust, as they haue done before: as if they were dead Images and Engins moued only by the wheeles of custome.

^{*} Blank in manuscript.

After Gerard. Ant Guidone Faulxio, 'or Guy Fawkes.'
 After Words. Et Ferociam, 'and ferocity.'
 As they have Done before. Istis omnibus posthabitis, pro more consueto agere, 'putting all these on one side, do according to their usual habit.'

a Iaureguy, nor a Baltazar Gerard:5 vet his Rule holdeth still, that Nature, nor the Engagement of Words, 6 are not fo forcible, as Custome. Onely Superstition is now fo well aduanced, that Men of the first Bloud, are as Firme, as Butchers by Occupation: And votary Refolution is made Equipollent to Cuftome, euen in matter of Bloud. In other Things, the Predominancy of Cuftome is euery where Vifible; In fo much, as a Man would wonder, to heare Men Professe, Protest, Engage, Giue Great Words, and then Doe just as they haue Done before:7 As if they were Dead Images, and Engines moued⁸ onely by the wheeles of Custome.

We fee also the Raigne⁹ or Tyrannie of Custome, what The Indians (I meane the Sect of their Wife Men)10 lay Themselues quietly vpon a Stacke of Wood, and fo Sacrifice themselves by fire. Nay the Wives ftriue to be burned 11 with the Corpfes of 12 their Husbands. The Lads of Sparta, of Ancient Time, were wont to be Scourged vpon the Altar of Diana, without

⁸ Moued. Impulsæ et actæ, 'impelled and driven.'

⁹ Raigne. Omitted in the Latin.

10 Sect of their Wise Men. Gymnosophistis, et Veteribus et Modernis,

'Gymnosophists, both ancient and modern.'

¹¹ Burned. In Rogum immitti, 'put on the funeral pile.' 12 The Corpses of. Omitted in the Latin.

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Therefore fince Cuftome is the principall Magistrate of Mans life, lett Men by all meanes endeavour to obteyne good tome is most perfite tome is most perfect when it beginneth in yong yeares. This wee call Education, which is nothing but an early Custome.

Therefore fince custome, is the principal Magistrate of mans life: men by all meanes endeauour to obtaine good Customes. Certainely Customes. Certainly custwhen beginneth in it young yeeres This wee call Education: which is nothing but an early cuftome.

For it is true that late For it is true that late termes cannot fo well learners cannot fo well take the it be in fome mindes, that it be in fome mindes, that felves to fix, but have felues to fixe, but have

ply, except take the plie; except have not fuffered them- have not fuffered them-

14 Of England. Omitted in the Latin.

14 Of England. Omitted in the Latin.
15 Penance. Ad Panitentian complendam, 'to perform penance.'
16 Will sit. Non recusabunt sedere, 'will not refuse to sit.'
17 Night. Nocte hyemali, 'winter's night.'
18 Hard. Omitted in the Latin.
19 Force. Plane stupendas vires, 'truly astounding force.'

¹³ Queching. Vix ejulatu, aut gemitu ullo emisso, 'scarcely uttering a cry or groan.

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fo much as Queching. 13 I remember in the beginning of Queene Elizabeths time of England, 14 an Irish Rebell Condemned, put vp a Petition to the Deputie, that he might be hanged in a With, and not in a Halter, because it had beene so vsed, with former Rebels. There be Monkes in Rufsia, for Penance,15 that will fit16 a whole Night,17 in a Veffell of Water, till they be Ingag. ed with hard18 Ice. Many Examples may be put, of the Force 19 of Custome, both vpon Minde, and Body.

Therefore, fince Custome is the Principall Magiftrate²⁰ of Mans life; Let Men by all Meanes endeuour, to obtaine good Customes. Certainly, Cuf. tome is most perfect.21 when it beginneth in Young Yeares: This we call Education; which is, in effect, but an Early 22

Custome. So we fee, in Languages 23 the Tongue is more Pliant to all Expressions and Sounds, the Ioints are more Supple 24 to all Feats of Activitie, 25 and Motions, in Youth 26 then afterwards.

For it is true, that late Learners, cannot fo well take the Plie; 27 Except it be in fome Mindes, that haue not fuffered themfelues to fixe, but haue

<sup>Magistrate. Moderator et Magistratus, 'governor and magistrate.'
Perfect. Validissima, 'strongest.'
Early. A teneris annis imbibita, 'imbibed from tender years.'
Languages. Linguis ediscendis, 'learning languages.'
Supple. Agiles et flexiles, 'agile and flexible.'
Feats of Actiutite. Posituras, 'postures.'
Youth. Pueritia, aut Adolescentia, 'boyhood or youth.'
Phe. Novam plicam, 'new ply.'</sup>

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kept themselves open, and prepared to receive contynuall amendement; which is exceeding rare. But if the force of Custome fimple, and feparate be greate; the force of Cuftome copulate, and coniovn'd and in troupe is farre greater. For theire example teacheth, Companie Comforteth, æmulacion quickneth, rayfeth; fo as in fuch places the force of Cuftome is in his exaltacion. Certainly the great multiplicacion of vertues vponn humaine nature resteth vponn Societyes well ordayn'd, and disciplin-For Common wealthes, and good governementes doe nourishe vertue growne, but doe mend the Seedes. But the miferie is, that the most effectuall meanes are nowe applyed to the endes left to be defiered.

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kept themselues open and prepared to continuall amendment: which is exceeding rare. But if the force of custome fimple, and feparate be great; the force of cuftome copulate and conioind, and in troupe, is far greater. For thear example teacheth: companie comforteth; æmulation quickeneth: raifeth: fo as in fuch places the force of cuftome is in his exaltation. Certainelie the great multiplication of vpon humane nature, resteth vpon focieties well ordained, and disciplin-For Common wealthes, and good gouernments, doe nourish vertue grown, but doe not mende the feeds. But the miferie is, that the most effuctual meanes are now applied to the ends leaft to be defired.

²⁸ Prepared. Omitted in the Latin.

²⁹ To receive. Ad omnia Pracepta, quo reciperent, 'to all instruction, so as to receive.'

³⁰ Raiseth. Animos extollit, 'raiseth the spirits.'
31 Force. Vires et influxus, 'force and flow.'
32 Multiplication. Multiplicatio et at Chymicorum Vocabulo utar Projectio, 'the multiplication and to use a chemist's word, the projection.'

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kept themselues open and prepared.28 to receive 29 continuall Amendment. which is exceeding Rare. But if the Force of Custome Simple and Separate, be Great; the Force of Cuftome Copulate, and Conioyned, and Collegiate, is far Greater. For there Example teacheth; Company comforteth; Emulation quickeneth; Glory raifeth: 30 So as in fuch Places the Force³¹ of Cuftome is in his Exaltation. Certainly, the great Multiplication 32 of Vertues 33 vpon Humane Nature, resteth upon Societies well Ordained, and Disciplin $ed.^{34}$ For Commonwealths,35 and Good Gou-

---- F 22 3 ----

ernments,36 doe nourish Vertue Growne,37 but doe not much mend the feeds. But the Mifery is,38 that the most Effectuall Meanes, are now applied, to the Ends, least to be defired.

³³ Of Vertues. Omitted in the Latin.

³⁴ Disciplined. Disciplina salubri informatis, 'fashioned by wholesome discipline.

³⁵ Commonwealths. Respublicæ recte administratæ, 'Commonwealths well administered.'

³⁶ Gouernments. Leges, 'laws.'
37 Crowne. In Herba, 'in the blade.'

³⁸ The Misery is. Infelicitatis Orbis hoc habet, 'the world has this misery.

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Harleian MS. 5106.

32. Of fortune.

28, Of fortune.



T cannott be denved but outwardAccidentes conduce much

to a Mans fortune; favour; death of oportune occasion fitting others: But cheiflie the mould of a Mans fortune is in himfelf.

T cannot bee denied, but outward accidents conduce much

to a Mans fortune. Fauour. death Oportune others, occasion But chiefely the vertue. mould of a Mans fortune is in himfelfe.

And the most frequent of external causes is, That the folie of one Man, is the fortune of another. Ffor noe Man prospers so suddainly as by others errours. Serpens nisi Serpentem comederit non fit Draco. Overt and apparant vertues bring fourth praife, but there be hidden and fecrett vertues that bring forth Fortune; Certen deliverves of a Mans self, which have noe name;

The Spanish word Defem-

And the most frequent of external causes is, that the folly of one man is the fortune of another. For no man prospers so fodenly, as by others rors. Serpens nisi ferpentem comederit non fit Draco. Ouert, and apparent vertues bring foorth praise, but there bee hidden and fecret vertues that bring forth fortune. Certaine deliueries of a mans felfe which have no name. The Spanish word Derem-

VI. Variations in posthumous Latin Edition of 1638.

Accidents. Accidentia et Casus, 'accidents and chances.'
 Fortune. Ad Hominum Fortunas, vel promovendas, vel deprimendas, plurimum possint, 'have much power in promoting or depressing the fortunes of men.

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British Museum Copy.

40. Of fortune.



cannot be denied, but Outward Accidents¹ conduce much Fortune:2

Fauour.3

Opportunitie, Death Others. Occasion fitting Vertue. But chiefly, the Mould of a Mans Fortune. is in his owne hands. Faber quifque Fortunæ fuæ; a faith the Poet. 4 And the most Frequent of Externall Caufes is, that the Folly of one Man, is the Fortune⁵ of Another. For no Man prospers so suddenly, as by Others Errours. Serpens nisi Serpentem comederit non fit Draco. Ouert, and Apparent vertues bring forth Praife; But there be Secret and Hidden Vertues, that bring Forth Fortune. Certaine Deliueries6 of a Mans Selfe, which haue no Name. The Spanish Name, Defem-

a Every one the architect of his own fortune.

b A serpent, unless it has eaten a serpent, does not become a dragon.

Fauour. Gratia alicujus ex Magnatibus, 'favour of some great men.'
Poet. Comicus, 'comic poet.'
Is the Fortune. Fortunam promovere, 'promotes the fortune.'

⁶ Deliueries. Facultates nonnulla se expediendi, 'certain means of de-livering oneself.'

III. 1607-12. æt. 47-52. boltura sheweth them best; when there be noe stondes, nor restiuenesse in a Mans nature;

For fo faieth Liuve well after he had described Cato Major in their wordes In illo viro tantum robur corporis, et animi fuit, vt quocunque loco natus effet fortunam sibi facturus videretur, he falleth vponn that, that he had, verfatile ingenium. Certainly if a Man looke sharply and accentively hee shall fee Fortune; for thoughe fhe be blinde, yet she is not invisible. The way of Fortune is like the Milken way in the Sky, which is a meeting or knott of a number of fmale Starres;

so are there a number of litle and fcarce difcerned vertues, or rather facultyes, and Customes, that make Men fortunate. The *Italians* have found out one of

IV. 1612. æt. 52. boltura partie expresseth them, when there be no flonds nor restiuenesse in a mans nature.

For fo faith Liuie well, after he had described Cato Major in these words. In illo viro tantum robur corporis et animi fuit, vt quocunque loco natus effet fortunam sibi facturus videretur: He falleth vpon that, that he had Verfatile ingenium. Therefore if a man looke fharpely and accentiuely, hee shall fee fortune; for though shee be blinde, yet shee is not inuifible. The way of fortune is like the milken way in the skie, which is a meeting, or knot of a number of fmall flarres; not feene afunder, but giving light together. So are there a number of little and fcarfe difcerned vertues, or rather faculties customes, that make men fortunate. The Ftalians fome of them, fuch as

Restiuenesse. Impedimenta, 'hindrances.'
 Sharply. Limis Oculis, 'askance.'

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boltura, a partly expresseth them: When there be not Stonds, nor Restiuenesse?

in a Mans Nature. But that the wheeles of his Minde keepe way, with the wheeles of his Fortune.

Liuie (after he had described Cate Maior, in these words: In illo viro, tantum Robur Corporis et Animi fuit, vt quocunque loco natus effet, Fortunam sibi facturus videretur;)b falleth vpon that, that he had, Verfatile Ingenium. Therfore. if a Man looke Sharply,8 and Attentiuely, he shall fee Fortune: For though shee be Blinde, yet shee is not Inuifible. The Way of Fortune, is like the Milken Way in the Skie: Which is a Meeting or Knot, of a Number of Small Stars; Not Seene afunder, but Giuing Light together. So are there, a Number of Little, and fcarfe difcerned Vertues. or rather Faculties and Customes, that make Men Fortunate. The Italians note fome of them, fuch as

a Desemboltura in Spanish means, airiness, impudence, confidence.
b In that man there was such strength of body and mind, that in whatever place he might have been born, it would seem that he would have made Fortune his own. Livy. xxxix. 40.

1607-12. æt. 47-52. them; Poco di Matto; when they fpeake of one that cannott doe amiffe.

And certainely there be not two more fortunate properties, then to have a litle of the foole, and not to much of the honeft. Therefore extreame Lovers of theire Countrye, or Maisters, were never fortunate, neither can they be: For when a Man placeth his thoughtes without himfelf, he goeth not his owne way. An haftye Fortune maketh an Enterprifer. and Remover (the French hath it better Entreprenant, or Remuant,) but the exercised fortune maketh the Able man; Fortune is to be honoured and respected and it be but for her daughters. Confidence and reputation, for those two feelicitye breedeth, the first in a Mans felf, the later in IV. 1612. æt. 52.

a man would little thinke, when they speake of one that cannot doe amisse, they will throw in into his other conditions, that he hath Poco di matto. And certainly, there beenot two more fortunate properties, then to have a little of the foole, and not too much of the hon-Therefore extreme louers of their Country. or Masters, were neuer fortunate, neither can they bee. For when a man placeth his thoughts without himselfe, hee goeth not his owne way. An hafty fortune maketh an enterprifer and remouer; (the French hath it better Enterprenant, or Remuant) but the exercised fortune maketh the able man. Fortune is to bee honoured and respected, and it be but for her daughters, Confidence and Reputation; for those two felicity breedeth: the first, within a mans felfe; the later,

<sup>Gannot doe amisse. Cui prosperam Fortunam spondent, 'for whom they expect prosperous fortune.'
Masters. Principes, 'princes.'
Remouer. Nonnihil turbulentos, 'somewhat restless.'
The French. . . . Remuant. Omitted in the Latin.</sup>

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a Man would little thinke. When they speake of one. that cannot doe amisse.9 they will throw in, into his other Conditions, that he hath, Poco di Matto.a And certainly, there be not two more Fortunate Properties; Then to haue a Little of the Foole: And not Too Much of the Honest. Therefore, Extreme Louers of their Countrey. or Masters, 10 were neuer Fortunate, neither can they For when a Man placeth his Thoughts without Himselfe, he goeth not his owne Way. An hastie Fortune maketh an Enterprifer, and Remouer, 11 (The French hath it better: Entreprenant, or Remuant)12 But the Exercised Fortune maketh the Able¹³ Man. Fortune is to be Honoured. and Respected,14 and it bee but for her Daughters, Confidence, and Reputation. For those two Felicitie¹⁵ breedeth: The first within a Mans Selfe; the Latter,

a Poco di Matto in Italian means, a little out of his senses, a little mad.

¹³ Able. Prudentes et Cordatos, 'wise and judicious.'

¹⁴ Honoured and Respected. *Honorem meretur*, 'deserves honour.' 15 Felicitie. *Fortuna prospera*, 'favourable fortune.'

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others.

All wife Men to declyne the envy of theire owne vertues vie to ascribe them to providence, and Fortune, for fo they may the better assume them, and besides it is greatnes in a Man to be the Care of the higher powers.

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IV. 1612. æt. 52. in others towards him. All wife men to decline the Enuie of their owne vertues, vie to ascribe them to prouidence, and fortune. For fo they may the better affume them. And besides, it is greatnesse in a man to bee the care of the higher powers.

And it hath beene noted. that those that ascribe openly to much to their owne wifdome, and policy, end infortunate. it written, that Timotheus the Athenian, after hee had in the account he gaue to the state of his gouernment, often interlaced this fpeach. And in this, fortune had no part; neuer prospered in any thing he vndertooke afterwards.

¹⁶ After Towards Him. Eague vicissim pariunt Animos et Auctoritatem, 'and these in turn produce courage and influence.'
17 Better. Decentius et liberius, 'more fittingly and freely.'

Better. Decentus et worths, more nitingly and freely.

B Greatnesse. Majestaten quandam addit, 'adds a sort of greatness.'

Be the Care. Si videretur Curæ esse, 'if he seems to be the care.'

To the State. Omitted in the Latin.

Other Ad ravin usque, 'to hoarseness.'

Slide, and Easinesse. Majore cum facilitate fluunt, 'flow with more.' easiness."

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in Others towards Him.¹⁶ All Wife Men, to decline the Enuy of their owne vertues, vie to afcribe them to Prouidence and Fortune; For fo they may the better¹⁷ affume them: And befides, it is Greatneffe¹⁸ in a Man, to be the Care, ¹⁹

of the Higher Powers. So Cæfar faid to the Pilot in the Tempest, Cæfarem portas, et Fortunam eius.^a So Sylla chose the Name of Felix, and not of Magnus.^b

And it hath beene noted, that those, that ascribe openly too much to their owne Wisdome, and Policie, end Infortunate. It is written, that Timotheus the Athenian, after he had, in the Account he gaue to the State, of his Gouernment, often interlaced this Speech; And in this Fortune had no Part, neuer prospered in any Thing he vndertooke after-

wards. Certainly, there be, whose Fortunes are like Homers Verses, that have a Slide, and Easinesse, 22 more then the Verses of other Poets: As Plutarch saith of Timoleons Fortune, in respect of that of Agesilaus, or Epaminondas. And that this should be, no doubt it is much, in a Mans Selfe.

0 DE 100

[&]quot;Thou carriest Cæsar and his fortunes. Plutarch. Cæsar. xxxviii.

b Plutarch. Sylla. xxxiv. Plutarch. Sylla. vi. 5.

d Plutarch, Timoleon, xxxv. T.

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Harleian M.S. 5106.

33. Of Death.



En feare death as Children feare to goe in the darke; and as

that naturall feare in Certainely and the yffue of it is religious, but the feare of it for it felf is weake.

Yet in religious meditacions there is reade in fome of the but his fingers end preffed, or tortured, and thereby imagine what the paynes whole body is corrupted, and diffolved; when manie

IV. 1612. æt. 52.

2. Of Death.



En feare death, as Children feare to goe in the darke: and

naturall feare that Children is encreased with Children is encreased with Tales, fo is the other, tales; fo is the other. the feare Certainely the feare of death in contempla- of death in contemplacion of the cause of it, tion of the cause of it, and the iffue of it. is religious: but the fear of it, for it felfe, is weake.

Yet in religious meditations there is

mixture of vanitye and of mixture of vanitie, and of Superflition. You shall superflition. You shall reade in some of the Ffryers Bookes of Mortifi- Friers Bookes of Mortificacion, that a Man should cation, that a man should thinke with himself what thinke with himselfe, what the payne is, if he have the paine is, if he haue but his fingers end preffed, or tortured; and thereby imagine what the paines of death are, when the of Death are, when the whole body is corrupted and diffolued: when many tymes death paffeth with times, Death paffeth with leffe payne then the tor- leffe paine, then the tor-

FH. Pariations in posthumous Latin Edition of 1638.

¹ Tales. Fabulosis quibusdam Terriculamentis, 'by fictitious terrors.'

V.

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British Museum Copy.

2. Of Death.

En fe as Cl to g

En feare *Death*, as Children feare to goe in the darke: And as

Naturall Feare in Children, is increased with Tales. 1 fo is the other. Certainly, the Contemplation of Death, as the wages of finne, and Passage to another world, is Holy, and Religious; But the Feare of it, as a Tribute due vnto Nature, is weake.2 Yet in Religious Meditations, there is fometimes, Mixture of Vanitie, and of Superstition. You shall reade, in some of the Friars Books of Mortification, that a man should thinke with himfelfe, what the Paine is, if he haue buthis Fingers end Preffed, or Tortured; And thereby imagine, what the Paines of Death are, when the whole Body, is corrupted and diffolued; when many times, Death paffeth with leffe paine, then the Tor-

² Weake. Infirma et inanis, 'weak and empty.

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ture of a lymme. Ffor the most vitall partes are not the quickest of sence. And

to fpeake Philosopher, or naturall Man it was well faied Pompa Mortis, magis terret, quam mors ipfa: Grones, and convulsions, and a discolored face. and frendes weeping, and Blackes, and obsequies. and the like shewe death terrible. It is worthie the observing that theare is noe paffion in the minde of

mafters the feare of death; and therefore death is noe fuch enimye when a Man hath fo manie followers about him, that cann Wynne the Combate of it. Revenge triumphes over

Man fo weake, but

death, love esteemes it not, Honour aspireth to it, delivery from ignominie chufeth it, greif flyeth to it, feare preoccupateth it, Nay wee fee after Otho

had flaine himfelf,

IV. 1612. æt. 52.

ture of a limme. For the most vitall parts are not the quickest of sence. And

to speake Philosopher or naturall man, it was well faid, Pompa mortis magis terret, quàm mors ipfa. Grones, and Conuulfions, and a discoloured face. and friends weeping, and Blackes and obfequies, and the like, shew death terrible. It is worthie the obseruing, that there is no paffion in the minde of man fo weake, but

mafters the

feare of death; and therefore death is no fuch enemy, when a man hath fo many followers about him, that can winne the combat of him. Revenge triumphes ouer death, Loue esteemes it not, Honour aspireth to it, delinery from Ignominy chuseth it, Griefe flieth to it, Feare preocu we fee pateth it: nay after Otho

had flain himfelfe. pittie which is the tender- pitty (which is the tendr-

Groanes. Gemitus et Singultus, 'groans and sighs.'

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ture of a Limme: For the most vitall parts, are not the quickeft of Senfe. And by him, that fpake onely as a Philosopher, and Naturall Man, it was well faid; Pompa Mortis magis terret, quam Mors ipfa.a Groanes³ and Conuulfions. and a discoloured Face.4 and Friends weeping, and Blackes, and Obfequies, and the like, shew Death Terrible. It is worthy the obseruing, that there is no passion in the minde of man, fo weake, but it Mates, and Masters, the Feare of Death: And therefore Death, is no fuch terrible Enemie, when a man hath fo many Attendants, about him, that can winne the combat of him. Revenge triumphs Death; Loue flights it; Honour aspireth to it;

Griefe flieth

to it; Feare pre-occupateth it; Nay we reade, after Otho the Emperour had flaine himfelfe, Pitty (which is the tender-

a The pomps of death frighten more than Death itsest.

⁴ Discoloured Face. Oris pallor, 'paleness of the face.'

III. 1607-12. æt. 47-52. reft of affections provoked manie to dve.

fpeaketh of Seneca nicenesse. Cogita quam diu eadem feceris, Mori velle non tantum fortis aut mifer, fed etiam fastidiofus potest.

It is no leffe worthie to It is no leffe worthy to observe how litle alteracion in good spirittes the approaches of death make, but they are the fame till the last. Augustus Cæfar dyed in a Complement, Tiberius in diffimulacion,

Vefpasian in a iest. Galba

with a fentence.

IV. 1612. æt. 52 eft of affections) prouoked many to die.

fpeaketh Seneca nicenesse: Cogita quam diù eadem feceris; Mori velle non tantum fortis. mifer, sed etiam fastidiosus potest.

observe how little alteration in good fpirits the approaches of death make: but they are the fame till the last. Augustus Cæfar died in a complement,

Tiberius in diffimulation. Vefpafian in a ieft. Galba with a fentence, Septimus Seuerus in difpatch:

⁵ Good Spirits. Animo generoso et forti, 'a noble and brave mind.' "The same Men. Eosdem enim gerunt Homines illi Spiritus, 'for those are bear the same spirits.'

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eft of Affections) prouoked

many to die, out of meere compassion to their Soueraigne, and as the truest fort of Followers. Nav

Seneca addes Niceneffe and Saciety; Cogita quam diù eadem feceris; Mori velle. non tantiim Fortis, aut Mifer, fed etiàm Fastidiofus

potest. a A man would die, though he were neither valiant, nor miferable, onely vpon a wearinesse to doe the fame thing, fo oft ouer and ouer.

It is no leffe worthy to obserue, how little Alteration, in good Spirits,5 the Approaches of Death make; For they appeare, to be the fame Men.6 till the last Instant. Augustus Cæfar died in a Comple-

ment; Liuia, Coniugij nostri memor, viue et vale. Tiberius in diffimulation; As Tacitus faith of him; Iam Tiberium Vires, et Corpus, non Difsimulatio, deferebant.c Vefpasian in

a Iest; Sitting vpon the Stoole, Vt puto Deus fio.d Galba

with a Sentence; Feri, si ex re sit populi Romani;e Holding forth his Necke. Septimius Seuerus in difpatch; Adeste, si quid mihi restat agendum!

a Consider how often thou dost the same thing. Not only a strong man or an avaricious man, but also a fastidious man is able to wish for death. Seneca. Epistles. x. 1. (6).

b Livia, mindful of our marriage life, live and farewell. Suetonius.

Augustus. c. 99.

b At length, strength and his body failed Tiberius, not his dissimulation.

Tacitus, Annals. vi. 50.

d As I think [The play is on the double sense of puto: to cleanse, and to think]. I am becoming a God. Suetonius. Vespasian. c. 23.

Strike, if it be for the benefit of the Roman People. Tacitus. History.

I Come here, if anything remains for me to do. Dion Cassius. 1xxvi. 17.

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the other.

III. 1607-12. æt. 47-52. and the like. Certainly the *Stoikes* beflowed too much Coft vponn death, and by their egreat preparacions made it appeare more fearefull. Better faieth he *Qui finem vitæ extremum inter munera ponat, naturæ*. It is as naturall to dye, as to be borne, and to a litle Infant perhaps, the one as painefull, as the other.

and the like. Certainely the Stoikes bestowed too much cost vpon death, and by their great preparations made it appeare more fearefull. Better saith he, Qui finem vita extremum inter munera ponat natura. It is as naturall to die, as to bee borne; and to a little Insant perhaps, the one as painefull, as

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⁷ Cost vpon Death. In Solatia Mortis, 'on the consolations of death.

And the like. Certainly, the Stoikes bestowed too much cost vpon Death, and by their great preparations, made it appeare more fearefull. Better faith he, Oui Finem Vitæ extremum inter Munera ponat Nature.a It is as Naturall to die, as to be borne; And to a little Infant, perhaps, the one, is as painfull, as

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the other. He that dies in an earnest Pursuit, is like one that is wounded in hot Bloud; who, for the time, fcarce feeles the Hurt; And therefore, a Minde fixt, and bent vpon fomewhat, that is good, doth auert the Dolors of Death: But aboue all, beleeue it, the fweetest Canticle is, Nunc dimittis; when a Man hath obtained worthy Ends, and Expectations. Death hath this also; That it openeth the Gate, to good Fame, and extinguisheth Enuie.

-Extinctus amabitur idem.



a Or rather; Qui spatium vitæ extremum inter munera ponit Juvenal, Satires. x. 357.

'Who lays down the last end of life among the Offices of Nature;' or, as

Bacon writes: "And it seemed to me among the Offices of Nature; or, as Dryden has put it;

A soul that can securely death defy,
And count it Nature's privilege to die.

Bacon writes: "And it seemeth to me, that most of the doctrines of the Philosophers are more fearefull and cautionary then the Nature of things requireth. So haue they encreased the feare of death, in offering to cure it.

For, when they would haue a mans whole life, to be but a discipline or pre-For, when they would have a main whole life, to be but a discipline of preparation to dye: they must needes make men thinke, that it is a terrible Enemy, against whom there is no end of preparing. Better saith the Poet, Qui finem, &c." Adv. of Learning. Bk. ii. fol. 75. Ed. 1605. Luke ii. 29.

b The same [i.e. the envied one] being dead will be loved. Horace. Epistles. ii. 1, 15.

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Harleian MS. 5106.

34. Of Seditions and Troubles.



Heapardes of people had neede knowe the Kalenders of Tempestes

in State, which are commonlye greatest when thinges growe to equalitie, as naturall Tempestes are greatest about the *aquinoclia*; And as there are certaine hollowe blasses,

and fecrett fwellinges of Seas before Tempestes, so are therein States.

ftare tumultus
Sæpe monet, fraudefque,
et operta tumefcere bella.
Certainly, Libells and
licentious discourses

are amongst the fignes of troubles, *Virgile* giveinge the pedegree of fame, faieth fhee was fifter to the Gyantes.

Of Seditions and Troubles.

[This Effay does not occur in the 1612 Edition.]

VI. Variations in posthumous Latin Edition of 1638.

1 After Winde. Et veluti e longinquo, 'and as if from afar off. 2 In States. Ingruentibus Procellis politicis, 'when political storms ar. approaching.'

Scandalum, 'licentious and calumnious' courses to the scandal of the State.'

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British Museum Copy.

15. Of Seditions and Troubles.



Hepheards of People, had need know the Kalenders of Tempests

in State; which are commonly greatest, when Things grow to Equality; As Naturall Tempests are greatest about the Æquinoclia. And as there are certaine hollow Blasts of Winde, and secret Swellings of Seas, before a Tempest, so are there in States: 2

——Ille etiam cæcos inflare Tumultus Sæpe monet, Fraudefque, et opertatumefcere Bella.^a Libels, and

licentious Difcourfes³ against the State, when they are frequent and open; And in like fort, false Newes often running vp and downe,⁴ to the disaduantage of the State,⁵ and hastily embraced;⁶

are amongst the Signes of *Troubles*. *Virgil* giving the Pedegre of *Fame*, saith *She was fister to the* Giants.

^a He [i.e. The Sun] also often warns of threatening hidden tumults; and treacheries, and of secret wars swelling to a head. Virgil. Georgics. i. 465.

Often running vp and downe. Omitted in the Latin.
 After State. Undique jaciati, 'cast about everywhere.'
 After Embraced. A Populo, 'by the people'

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Illam terra parens ira irritata deorum Extremam vt perhibent Cæo Enceladoque foro-

Progenuit.

As if fames and Rumours were the Reliques of Seditions past, but they are no leffe the preludes of Seditions to come. he notes it right, that feditions, tumultes, and feditious fames, differ noe more, but as Mafculine, and feminine.

This Effay does not occur in the 1612 Edition.

Also that kinde of obedience (which Tacitus describeth in an Army) is to be

⁷ If it come. Ingravescat Malum, 'the evil grows worze.'

⁸ Checks them. Evanescunt, 'they vanish.'
9 Going about. Conatus sedulus, 'diligent endeavours.
10 Wonder. Omitted in the Latin.

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Illam Terra Parens irâ irritata Deorum, Extremam (vt perhibent) Cæo Enceladoque fororem

Progenuit—a
As if Fames

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were the Reliques of Seditions past; But they are no leffe, indeed, the preludes of Seditions to come. Howfoeuer, he noteth it right, that Seditious Tumults, and Seditious Fames, differ no more, but as Brother and Sifter, Mascu-

line and Feminine; Especially, if it come? to that, that the best Actions of a State, and the most plausible, and which ought to giue greatest Contentment, are taken in ill Sense, and traduced: For that shewes the Enuy great, as Tacitus saith; Constata magna Inuidia, seu benè, seu malè, gesta premunt. Neither doth it follow, that because these Fames, are a signe of Troubles, that the suppressing of them, with too much Seuerity, should be a Remedy of Troubles. For the Despising of them, many times, checks them best; and the Going about? to stop them, doth but make a Wonder Long-liued.

Also that kind of Obedience, which *Tacitus* speaketh of, is to be

^a Her, Parent Earth, furious with the vengeance of the Gods, brought forth; the youngest sister of Cœus and Enceladus. Virgil. Æneid. iv. 179. "In Heathen Poesie, wee see the exposition of Fables doth fall out sometimes with great felicitie, as in the Fable that the Gyants beeing ouerthrowne in their warre against the Gods, the Earth their mother in reuenge thereof brought forth Fame. Illum terra Parens &c.
Expounded that when Princes & Monarches haue suppressed actual and open

Expounded that when Princes & Monarches haue suppressed actual and open Rebels, then the malignitie of people, (which is the mother of Rebellion,) doth bring forth Libels & slanders, and taxations of the states, which is of the same kind with Rebellion, but more Feminine." Adv. of Learning. ii. fol. 19, Ed. 1605.

Ed. 1605.
 Great every was excited, whether affairs went well or ill. Tacitus.
 History i, 7.

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held fuspected Erant in officio, sed tamen qui mallent mandata Imperantium interpretari, quam exequi When Mandates fall to be disputed and distinguished and new sences given to them, it is the first Essay of disobeying.

Alfo as Machauuell well notes When Princes that ought to bee common Fathersmake themfelves as a partie, and leane to a fide in the eftate, it is as a boate that tiltes afide before it overthrowes.

[This Effay does not occur in the 1612 Edition.]

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Alfo when difcordes, and quarrells, and factions are carryed openly and audaciously, it is a signe

¹¹ Directions. Omitted in the Latin.

¹² After Disputings. Circa Mandata, 'concerning mandates.'
13 Audaciously. Audacius et contumacius, 'too boldly and obstinately.'

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held fuspected; Erant in officio, fed tamen qui mallent mandata Imperantium interpretari, quam exegui; a Difputing, Excufing, Cauilling vpon Mandates and Directions, 11 is a kinde of shaking off the yoake, and

Affay of disobedience: Especially, if in those disputings, 12 they, which are for the direction, speake fearefully, and tenderly; And those that are against it, audaciously. 13

Alfo, as Macciauel noteth well; when Princes, that ought to be Common Parents, make themselues as a Party, and leane to a fide.14

as a Boat that

is ouerthrowen.

by vneuen weight, on the one Side; As was well feen. in the time of Henry the third of France: For first, himselfe entred 15 League for the Extirpation of the Protestants: and prefently after, the same League was turned vpon Himfelfe. For when the Authority of Princes, is made but an Accessary to a Cause; And that there be other Bands, that tie faster, then the Band of Soueraignty, Kings begin to be put almost out of Poffession, 16

Alfo, when Difcords, and Quarrells, and Factions, are Carried openly, and audaciously; it is a Signe,

^a They were in office, but yet would rather question the orders of the commanders, than perform them. Tacitus. History, ii. 30. 6 Macchiavelli. Discorsi sopra la Prima Deca de Tito Livio, iii. 27.

Leane to a side. Omitted in the Latin.
 Entred. Se recipi voluit, 'wished to be received into.'
 Possession. Possessione Auctoritatis, 'possession of authority'

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And reverence is that wherewith Princes are girt from God, who threatneth the diffolving thereof, as one of his great Iudgementes.

Soluam cingula Regum.

So when anie of the fower Pillars of governement are mainely shakened, or weakened, which are Religion, Iustice, Councell and Treafure, Men had neede to pray for faier weather. But let vs leave the part of predic-

tions.

fpeake and of the Materialls.

This Effay does not occur in the 1612 Edition.

Gouernment. Erga Principem, 'toward the sovereign.'
 Highest Motion. Motum primi Mobilis, 'the motion of the primi.m mobile. 19 Great Ones. Viri Primores et Nobiles, 'chiefs and noble men.'

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the Reuerence of Gouern-

ment¹⁷ is loft. For the Motions of the greatest perfons, in a Gouernment, ought to be, as the Motions of the Planets, under Primum Mobile; (according to the old Opinion: which is, That Euery of them, is carried fwiftly, by the Highest Motion, 18 and foftly in their owne Motion. And therfore, when great Ones, 19 in their owne particular Motion, moue violently, and, as Tacitus expresseth it well, Liberius, quam vt Imperantium meminiffent; a It is a Signe, the Orbs are out of Frame. For Reuerence is that. wherwith Princes are girt

from God; Who threateneth the diffoluing thereof:

Soluam cingula Regum.

So when any of the foure Pillars of Gouernment, are mainly shaken. or weakned (which Religion, Iustice, Counfell, and Treafure,) Men had need to pray for Faire Weather. But let vs paffe from this Part of Predic-

tions, 20 (Concerning which, 21 neuerthelesse, more light may be taken, from that which followeth:) And let vs speake first of the Materials of Seditions:

a More freely than was grateful to the rulers. Incorrectly quoted fr Tacitus. Annals. iii. 4. b Is. xlv. I.

Predictions. Prognostica Seditionum, 'predictions of sedition,' 21 Concerning whic &c. Circa qua nihilominus intervenient nonnu yua iis tractanats majorem Lucem probere possint, 'concerning whi nevertheless, several things will occur which will afford greater light in tre ing of them.

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The matter of feditions is of two kindes, Much povertve and much discontent

Certainely, fo manie overthrowne estates, so manie votes for troubles: Lucan, noteth well the state of the tymes before the Civill Warre,

Hinc vfura vorax, Rapidumque in tempore fænus. Hinc concuffa fides, et multis vtile bellum.

This fame Multis vtile bellum, is an affured, and infallible figne of a State disposed to troubles. and feditions.

This Effay does not occur in the 1612 Edition.]

For discontentes, they are the verie humours

Motiues. Caussis et Flabellis, 'causes and motives: (lit. fans.)'
 After Prepared. Flamme, 'for the flame.'
 Cone. Emicare possint, 'can shine.'
 Ouerthrowne Estates. Hominum res attritæ, et decoctæ Fortunæ. 'impaired estates of men, and bankrupt fortunes.'

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Then of the Motives 22 of them; And thirdly of the Remedies.

Concerning the Materialls of Seditions. It is a Thing well to be confidered: For the furest way to preuent Seditions, (if the Times doe beare it.) is to take away the Matter of them. For if there be Fuell prepared,23 it is hard to tell, whence the Spark shall come.24 that shall fet it on Fire.

The Matter of Seditions is of two kindes; Much Pouerty, and Much Discontentment. It is certaine, fo many Querthrowne Estates, 25 fo many Votes for Troubles. Lucan noteth well the State of Rome, before the Cinill Warre.

Hinc V fura vorax, rapidumquein tempore Fænus, Hinc concusta Fides, et multis vtile Bellum.

This fame Multis vtile Bellum, is an affured and infallible 26 Signe, of a State, disposed to Seditions.

and Troubles. And if this Pouerty, and Broken Estate. in the better Sort, be joyned with a Want and Necessity, in the meane People, the danger is imminent and great. For the Rebellions of the Belly 27 are the worst. As for Discontentments,28

they are

a Hence devouring usury, and interest greedy of time, Hence credit shaken, and war profitable to many. Lucan, Pharsalia, i, 181, 2.

²⁶ Infallible. Omitted in the Latin.
27 Of the Belly. Quae a Ventre ortum habent, 'which rise from the belly.'
28 Discontentments. Alienationes Animorum, et Tadium Rerum prasentium; 'the alienation of minds, and discontent with the present state.'

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m the politique body

apt to

gather a preternaturall heate, and to inflame; Andletnot Princes measure the danger of them by this whether they are iust, or vniust, For that were to imagine people to reasonable;

yet by this, whether the greifes Wherevponn they arrife be in true proporcion great, or fmale; for they are the most dangerous kindes of discontentes, where the feare is greater, then the feelinge.

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²⁹ Humours. Humorum Maligniorum, 'malignant humours.' ³⁰ Them. Illa que Animos Populi alienant, 'what alienates the minds of the people.'

³¹ Be secure. Minus pendat, 'consider of less account.' 22 Concerning Discontentments. Alienationem Animorum, et Invidiam grassantem, 'the alienation of minds and the increase of envy.'

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in the Politique Body, like to Humours²⁹ in the Naturall, which are apt to gather a preternaturall Heat, and to Enflame. And let no Prince measure the Danger of them,³⁰ by this; whether they be Iust, or Vniust? For that were to imagine People to be

too reasonable; who doe often spurne at their owne

Good: Nor
yet by this; whether the
Griefes, wherupon they
rife, be in fact,
great or fmall: For they
are the most dangerous
Discontentments,

where the Feare is greater

then the Feeling. *Dolendi Modus, Timendi non item.*^a Befides, in great Oppreffions, the fame Things, that prouoke the Patience, doe withall mate the Courage: But in Feares it is not fo. Neither let any Prince, or State, be fecure³¹ concerning *Difcontentments*,³² because they³³ haue been often, or haue been long and yet no Perill³⁴ hath ensued; For as it is true, that euery Vapor, or Fume,³⁵ doth not turne into a Storme; So it is, neuerthelesse, true, that Stormes, though they blow ouer diuers times, yet may fall³⁶ at last; And as the

a There is a mean in pain, but not in fear.

³³ They. Illa fastidia Animorum, 'these dislikes.'
34 Perill. Detrimenti Respublica cepit, 'the State has received no damage.'

³⁵ Or Fume. Omitted in the Latin.
36 Fall. Glomerantur et ruunt, 'collect and fall.'

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The causes and motives of Sedition, Religion. alteracions and Cuftomes. lawes breakeing priuiledges, generall oppression, Advauncement of vnworthie persons. Straungers, Dearthes. And whatfoever in offending people ioyneth them in a Common Caufe. for the remedyes there maie be fome generall prefervatives, Cure aunsweare to the particuler difeafe.

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⁸⁷ And Motiues. Omitted in the Latin.

⁸⁸ Taxes. Tributa et Census, 'tributes and taxes.'
39 Priviledges. Immunitatum et Privilegiorum, 'immunities and privi-

⁴⁰ After Aduancement. Adhonores et Magistratus, 'to honours and offices.' 41 Dearths. Caritas Annona, 'dearth of provisions,'

¹² Disbanded Incuriose dimissi, 'carelessly disbanded'

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Spanish Prouerb noteth well; The cord breaketh at the

last by the weakest pull.

The Caufes and Motiues³⁷ of Seditions are; Innouation in Religion: Taxes; 38 Alteration of Lawes and Customes: Breaking of Priviledges; 39 Generall Oppression; Aduancement40 of vnworthy persons; Strangers:

Dearths: 41 Disbanded 42 Souldiers: Factions growne aez-And whatfoeuer in offendperate;

ing People, ioyneth and knitteth 43 them, in a Com-

mon Caufe.

For the Remedies; There may be fome generall44 Preservatives, whereof wee will speake; As for the iust Cure, it must answer to the Particular

Difease: And so be left to Counsell, rather then Rule. The first Remedy or preuention, 45 is to remoue by all meanes⁴⁶ possible, that materiall Cause of Sedition, wherof we spake; which is Want and Pouerty in the Estate. To which purpose, ferueth the Opening, and well Ballancing of Trade; 47 the Cherifhing 48 of Man

⁴³ Knitteth. Conspirare facit, 'makes them conspire'
44 Generall. Confuse, et in genere, possunt assignari, 'may be assigned
confusedly and generally.'
45 After Preuention. Contra seditiones, 'against seditions.'
46 Meanes. Opera et diligentia, 'means and diligence.'
47 Trade. Commercii Rationes, 'the conduct of trade.'
48 Cherishing. Introducere, et fovere, 'introducing and cherishing.'

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⁴⁹ Manufactures. Artificis et Manufacturas, 'artisans and manufactures.

Idlenesse. Desidiam et Otium, 'idleness and ease.'
 Improvement and Husbanding. Cultura lucrosissima subigere, 'to work with the most profitable cultivation.

⁵² Soyle. Solum et agros, 'the soil and the fields.'
53 Reckoned. Utrum superflua sit, necne, 'whether it is too abundant or not.'

⁵⁴ More. Pecunias, 'money,'
55 Stocke. Sorti Reipublica, 'to the stock of the State'

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ufactures;49 the Banishing of Idlenesse;50 the Represfing of waste and Excesse by Sumptuary Lawes; the Improvement and Husbanding 51 of the Soyle; 52 the Regulating of Prices of things vendible; the Moderating of Taxes and Tributes; And the like. Generally, it is to be forefeene, that the Population of a Kingdome, (especially if it be not mowen downe by warrs) doe not exceed, the Stock of the Kingdome, which should maintaine them. Neither is the Population, to be reckoned.⁵³ onely by number: For a fmaller Number, that fpend more, 54 and earne leffe. doe weare out an Estate, sooner then a greater Number, that live lower, and gather more. Therefore the Multiplying of Nobilitie, and other Degrees of Qualitie, in an ouer Proportion, to the Common People, doth speedily bring a State to Necessitie: And so doth likewife an ouergrowne Clergie; For they bring nothing to the Stocke; 55 And in like manner, when more are bred Schollers, then Preferments⁵⁶ can take off.⁵⁷

It is likewise to be remembred, that for as much as the increase of any Estate,58 must be 59 vpon the Forrainer, (for whatfoeuer is fome where gotten, is fome where loft) There be but three Things, which one Nation felleth vnto another; The Commoditie 60 as Nature yeeldeth it; 61 The Manufacture; and the Vecture or Carriage. So that if thefe three wheeles goe, Wealth will flow as in a Spring tide. And it commeth many times to passe, that 62 Materiam superabit Opus; a That the Worke, and Carriage, is more worth, then

a The work will surpass the material. Ovid, Metamorphoses. ii. 5.

⁵⁶ Preferments. Vocationis Civiles, 'civil duties.'
57 Take off. Victum suppeditare, 'supply living to.'
58 Estate. Publicæ Opulentiæ, 'public wealth.'
59 Be. Lucrifferi, 'be gained.'
60 Commoditie. Materiam Mercium, 'the material of merchandise.'
61 As Nature yeeldeth it. Omitted in the Latin.
62 Opus. De quo loquitur poeta, 'of which the poet speaks.'

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> This Effay does not occur in the 1612 Edition.]

To give moderate libertye for greifes

⁶³ Mines. Fodinas, non subterraneas illas, 'mines not underground.'
64 Good Policie . . . vsed. Nihil autem prins debet esse aut consultius
guam ut videat Magistratuum Prudentia, 'nothing, moreover, ought to be
500ner or more thought of than that the foresight of the magistrates should see.'
65 In a State. Omitted in the Latin.
66 Spread. Per Terram dispergatur, 'spread on the earth.'

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the Materiall, and enricheth a State more; As is notably feene in the Low-Countrey-Men, who have the

best Mines, 63 aboue ground, in the World.

Aboue all things, good Policie is to be vfed,64 that the Treasure and Moneyes, in a State,65 be not gathered into few Hands. For otherwife, a State may haue a great Stock, and yet starue. And Money is like Muck, not good except it be fpread.68 This is done, chiefly, by fuppreffing, or at the leaft, keeping a strait Hand, vpon the Deuouring Trades of Vfurie,

Fngrossing, great Pasturages, 67 and the like.

For Remouing *Difcontentments*, or at least, the danger of them; ⁶⁸ There is in euery State (as we know) two Portions of Subjects; The Nobleffe, and the Commonaltie. When one of these is Discontent, the danger is not great; For Common People, are of flow Motion, if they be not excited, by the Greater Sort; And the Greater Sort are of fmall ftrength, except the Multitude, be apt and ready, to moue of themfelues. Then is 69 the danger, when the Greater Sort doe but wait for the Troubling of the Waters, amongst the Meaner, that then they may declare themselues.70 The Poets faigne, that the rest of the Gods, would haue⁷¹ bound *Iupiter*; which he hearing of, by the Counfell of Pallas, fent for Briareus, with his hundred Hands, to come in to his Aid. An Embleme, no doubt, to shew, how fafe⁷² it is for Monarchs, to make fure⁷³ of the good Will of Common People.

Togiue moderate Liberty, for Griefes, and Difcon-

⁶⁷ Great Pasturages. Latifundiorum in Pascua conversorum, 'changing farms into pasturages.

⁶⁸ Of them. Quæ ab iis proveniunt, 'which come from them.'
69 Is. Revera ingruit, 'truly approaches.'

 ^{18.} Kevera ingruit, 'truly approaches.'
 71 Themselues. Animos exulceratos, 'their wounded minds.'
 71 Would haue. Conjurasse, 'conspired.'
 72 Safe. Tutum et salutare, 'safe and wholesome.'
 73 Make sure. Conciliare et retinere, 'gain and keep.'

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to evaporate, fo it be without bravery or importunitye, is fafe way, ffor hee that tourneth the humour or makes the wound bleede inwardes, endaungereth maligne vlcers and pernicious impostumacions:

Also the part of Epimetheus may become Prometheus in this Case:

Hee when greifes and evills flewe abroade, kept hope in vet the bottome of the Veffell. The politike, and artificiall nourishing of fome degree of hopes,

is one of the best Antidotes against the poyfon of discontentes; and it is a certaine figne of a Wife governement.

if it can hold by hope, where it This Effay does not occur in the 1612 Edition.

⁷⁴ Discontentments. Animis gravate affectis et malevolis indulgere, ut ebulliant eorum Dolores, et in fumos abeant, 'to indulge ill affected and malevolent minds, that their griefs may evaporate and go off in smoke.'
75 Safe Way. Utile, 'useful.'

 ⁷⁵ Safe Way. Utile, 'useful.'
 76 Inwards. In viscera, 'into the bowels.'

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tentments74 to euaporate, (fo it be without too great Infolency or Brauery) is a fafe Way.75 For he that turneth the Humors backe. and maketh the Wound bleed inwards,76 endangereth maligne 77 Vlcers, and Impostumapernicious tions.

The Part of Epimetheus, mought well become

Prometheus, in the case of Discontentments; 78 For there is not a better prouision against them. Epimetheus, when Griefes and Euils flew abroad, at last 79 shut the lid, and kept Hope in the Bottome of the Veffell. Certainly, the Politique and Artificiall Nourishing, and Entertaining of Hopes, and Carrying Men from Hopes to Hopes; is one of the best Antidotes, against the Poyson of Discontent-And it is a cerments.

taine Signe, of a wife Gouernment, and Proceeding, when it can hold Mens hearts 80 by Hopes, when it

77 Maligne. Mortifera, 'deadly.'
78 In the case of Discontenuments. Ad molliendos exace batos et malevolos Animos, 'to soothe embittered and evil-disposed minds.

79 At last. Festinus, 'in haste.'

80 Hearts. Omitted in the Latin.

III. 1607-12. æt. 47-52. IV. cannott by Satisfaccion.

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Alfo the forefight and prevencion, that there be noe likely or fitt head wherevnto difcontentes may refort, and vnder whom they may ioyne, is a knowne, but an excellent pointe of caution. I vnderstand a fitt head to be one that hath greatnesse and reputacion, that hath Confidence with the difcontented partie, and vponn whom they tourne theire eves, and that is thought discontent in his particular.

This Effay does not occur in the 1612 Edition.

⁸¹ Also, the foresight . . . Preuention. Trita sane est, sed pracellens Periculorum, qua Malevolentia minantur, Cautio, ut pravideatur, 'it is known but an excellent caution against the dangers threatened by discontent to take care.

<sup>Bake care.
2 Likely or fit. Omitted in the Latin.
2 Likely or fit. Omitted in the Latin.
3 Discontented. Insensus et exacerbatus, 'hostile and embittered.'
4 Vnder whom. Sub cuius presidio, 'under whose protection.'
5 Ioyne. In Corpus aliquod coire, 'join into a body.'
6 Head. Caput . . et Ducem idoneum, 'head and suitable leader.</sup>

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cannot by Satisfaction: And when it can handle things, in fuch manner, as no Euill shall appeare fo peremptory, but that it hath fome Out-let of Hope: Which is the leffe hard to doe, because both particular Persons, and Factions, are apt enough to flatter themselues, or at least to braue that, which they beleeue not.

Alfo, the Forefight,81 and Preuention, that there be no likely or fit82 Head. whereunto Discontented 83 Perfons may refort, and vnder whom⁸⁴ they may ioyne,85 is a knowne, but an excellent Point of Caution. I vnderstand a fit Head,86 to be one, that hath⁸⁷ Greatneffe, and Reputation; That hath Confidence88 with the Difcontented Party; and vpon whom they turne their Eyes;89 And that is thought discontented in his own par-

ticular; which kinde of Persons, are either to be wonne, 90 and reconciled to the State, and that in a fast and true91 manner; Or to be fronted, with some other, of the fame Party, that may oppose them, and

⁸⁷ Hath. Celebratur, 'is known for.'
88 Confidence. Acceptus est et gratiosus, 'is acceptable and influential with.

⁸⁹ Eyes. Ora et Oculos, 'faces and eyes.' 90 Wonne. Omitted in the Latin.

⁹¹ Fast and true. Non perfunctorie, sed solide; 'not slightly, but firmly.

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Also the deviding and breaking of anie Combinacion, that adverse to the State

is none of the worst Remedies. For it is a defperate case if the true parte of the State be full of difcord and faction, and the falfe. entyer and vnyted.

This Effay does not occur in the 1612 Edition.

Diuide. In diversa trahat et secet, 'divide and cut.'
 Reputation. Gratiam popularem, 'popular favour.'
 Generally. Ubique hoc obtinet, 'wherever this obtains.'
 Breaking. Omitted in the Latin.
 Factions. Factiosas Potentias, 'factious powers.'

⁹⁷ Aduerse to the State. Quæ contra Gubernationem Imperii Frontem contrahunt, 'which from at the government of the State.'

⁹⁸ Setting them at distance. Omitted in the Latin. 99 Distrust. Dissidentiam seminare, 'sow discord.' 100 Worst. Haud contemnendum, 'not to be despised.'

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fo divide 92 the reputation. 93 Generally,94 the Diuiding

and Breaking⁹⁵ of all Factions,⁹⁶ and Combinations that are

aduerfe to the State, 97 and fetting them at distance, or 98 at least distrust amongst themselues,99

is not one of the worst100 Remedies. For it is a def-

perate Cafe, if those, that hold with the Proceeding of the

State, be full of Difcord and Faction; 101 And those that are against 102 it, be entire and vnited.103

I have noted, that fome witty and sharpe Speeches, which have fallen104 from Princes, have given fire to Seditions. Cafar did himselfe infinite Hurt, in that Speech; Sylla nefciuit Literas, non potuit dictare: a For it did, vtterly, cut off that Hope, which Men had entertained, that he would, at one time or other, give ouer his Dictatorship. Galba vndid himselfe by that Speech: Legi à fe Militem, non emi: b For it put the Souldiers, out of Hope, of the Donatiue. *Probus* likewife, ¹⁰⁵ by that Speech; Si vixero, non opus erit amplius Romano Imperio militibus.c A Speech of great Defpaire, for the Souldiers: And many the like. Surely, Princes had need, in tender Matters, and Ticklish Times, to beware what they fay; Especially in these

a Sylla knew not letters, he was not able to dictate. Suctonius. Julius Cæsar. 77.

[&]quot;Cæsar would say of Sylla, for that hee did resigne his Dictatorship: "Cæsar would say of letters, he could not dictate." Lord Bacon's Apophth. No. 135. Ed. 1625.

b The soldiery was levied by him, not bought. Tacitus. History, i. 5.

c If I live, there shall be no longer need for soldiers to the Roman Empire. Flavius Vopiscus. Probus. 20.

¹⁰¹ Faction. Omitted in the Latin.
102 Against. Infensi, et maligni, 'hostile and evil disposed.'
103 Entire and vnited. Arcte conjungantur, 'be strictly united.'
104 After Fallen. Improviso, 'at random.
105 Likewise. Item interiit, 'likewise perished.'

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Lastlie lett Princes against all eventes not be without fome great person of Militarye valew neare vnto them for the repreffing of seditions in theire begininges. For without that, there vieth to be more trepidacion in Courtes vponn the breaking out of troubles then were fitt. and the State runneth the daunger of that which Tacitus faieth Atque is habitus animorum fuit vt peffimum facinus auderent pauci. plures vellent, omnes paterentur. But lett fuch one. be an affured one, and

[This Effay does not occur in the 1612 Edition.]

not popular, and holding good Correspondence with the gowne Men; orels the remedy is worse then the disease.

106 Large. Longiores et productiores longer and more protracted.'
 107 Military Valour. Militia et For. itudine sbectatas, 'tried in war and valour.'

108 Court. Aulis Principum, 'the courts of princes.'



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fhort Speeches, which flie abroad like Darts, and are thought to be shot out of their secret Intentions. For as for large 106 Difcourfes, they are flat Things, and not fo much noted.

Laftly, let Princes, againft all Euents, not be without fome Great Perfon, one, or rather more, of Military Valour¹⁰⁷ neere vnto them, for the Repreffing of Seditions, in their beginnings. For without that, there vieth to be more trepidation in Court, 108 vpon the first Breaking out of Troubles, then were fit. And the State runneth the danger of that, which Tacitus faith; Atque is Habitus animorum fuit, vt pefsimum facinus auderent Pauci, Plures vellent, Omnes paterentur.a But let fuch Military Persons, be Assured, and well reputed of, rather then Factious, and Popular; Holding alfo good Correspondence, with the other Great Men in the State:

Or else the Remedie, is worse then the Disease.

a And this was the disposition of their minds, that a few dared to attempt the greatest villany, that more desired it, and that all tolerated in it. Facitus. History. i. 28.





AHARMONY

OF THE

THIRD GROUP

OF

SIX

ESSAYS.

35. OF RELIGION.

The title was afterwards changed to OF UNITY IN RELIGION.

36. OF CUNNING.

37. OF LOVE.

38. OF JUDICATURE.

39. OF VAIN-GLORY.

40. Of the True Great-NESS OF KINGDOMS.

First Published in 1612.





THE ESSAIES OF S^r Francis

BACON Knight, the

Kings Solliciter

Generall.



Imprinted at London by

IOHN BEALE,

1612.

The Epistle Dedicatorie.



TO MY LOVING BROTHER,

ST IOHN CONSTABLE KNIGHT.



Y last Essaies I dedicated to my deare brother Master Anthony Bacon, who is with God. Looking amongst my papers this vacation, I found others of the same Nature: which if I my selfe shall not suffer to be lost, it

feemeth the World will not; by the often printing of the former. Missing my Brother, F found you next; in respect of bond of neare alliance, and of straight friendship and focietie, and particularly of communication in studies. Wherein I must acknowledge my selfe beholding to you. For as my businesse found rest in my contemplations; so my contemplations ever found rest in your louing conference and independent. So wishing you all good, I remaine

Your louing brother and friend,

FRA. BACON.

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^{[*} These Essays—if ever any were separately written, under these titles—are not found in the Text, nor in any other of Bacon's known writings. The Titles are most probably but sub-titles of No. 38. Of greatnes of Kingdomes.

[.] Two Essays, which were at this time in existence, were not included in this Edition, viz.: Of Honour and Reputation, and Of Seditions and Troubles,

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1. Of Religion.



He quarrels, and divisions for Religion, were euils vnknowne to the Heathen; and no maruell;

for it is the that is the jealous God: true God and the gods of the Heathen were good fellowes. But

yet the bonds of religious vnity, are fo to be strengthened, as the bonds of humane society be not diffolued.

VI, Fariations in Posthumous Latin Goition of 1038.

¹ TITLE. Religion. Ecclesia, 'of the church.'
² Happy thing. Parest, 'it is right.'
³ Within the of Vnity. Debitis vera Vnitatis et Charitatis vinculis,' by the proper bands of true unity and charity.'

Quarrels. Omitted in the Latin.
Quarrels. Omitted in the Latin.
The Reason was, because, Nec mirum, cum, 'nor was it strange, since.'
Ceremonies. Cultu Deorum externo, 'outward worship of the gods.'
Beleefe. Confessione, et Fide, 'confession and belief.'
What the Meanes. Quibus denique Modis concilietur, 'and lastly by what means it is preserved.'

Fruits. Fructus pracipui, 'chief fruits.'
 Scandals. In Ecclesia Scandala, 'scandals in the church.'

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British Museum Copy.

3. Of Unity in Religion.1



Eligion being the chiefe Band of humane Society, it is a happy thing,² when it felfe, is well contained, within the true Band of Vnity.³ The Quarrels,⁴ and Diuisions about

Religion, were Euils vnknowne to the Heathen. The Reafon was, because the Religion of the Heathen, confisted rather in Rites and Ceremonies; then in any constant Beleefe. For you may imagine, what kinde of Faith theirs was, when the chiefe Doctors, and Fathers of their Church, were the Poets. But the true God hath this Attribute, That he is a Iealous God; And therefore, his worship and Religion, will endure no Mixture, nor Partner.

We shall therefore speake, a few words, concerning the *Vnity* of the *Church*; *What are the Fruits thereof*; what the Bounds; And what the Meanes?8

The Fruits⁹ of Vnity (next vnto the well Pleafing of God, which is All in All) are two; The One, towards those, that are without the Church; The Other, towards those, that are within. For the Former; It is certaine, that Heresies, and Schismes, are of all others, the greatest Scandals; 10 yea more then Corruption of Manners. For as in the Naturall Body, a Wound or Solution of Continuity, is worse then a Corrupt Humor; So in the Spirituall. 11 So that nothing, doth so much keepe Men out of the Church, 12 and 13 driue Men out of the Church, as Breach of Vnity; And therefore,

a Exodus xx. 5.

¹¹ So in the Spirituall. Similis est Corporis Spiritualis ratio, 'the nature of the spiritual body is similar.'

¹² Keepe Men out of the Church. Homines, ab ingressu in Ecclesian absterreat, 'frighten men from entering the church.'
¹³ After And. Jam receptos, 'when already received.'

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16 Discordant and Contrary Opinions. Lites, et Opinionum Dimicationes,

¹⁴ The Propriety of whose Vocation. Cujus Vocatio et Missic, propria et demandata, 'whose peculiar vocation and mission, entrusted to him.

15 Without. Extra Ecclesiam, 'without the church.'

^{&#}x27;disputes and contests of opinion.'

17 Morris daunce. Saltationes Florales et Gesticulationes, 'floral dances

and gestures.'
18 Diuers Posture. Peculiarem quendam motum Corporis ridiculum. 'some peculiar ridiculous motion of the body.'

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whenfoeuer it commeth to that passe, that one faith, Ecce in Deferto; a Another faith, Ecce in penetralibus; a That is, when some Men seeke Christ, in the Conuenticles of Heretikes, and others, in an Outward Face of a Church, that voice had need continually to found in Mens Eares, Nolite exire, Goe not out.a The Doctor of the Gentiles (the Propriety of whose Vocation. 14 drew him to have a special care of those without) 15 faith: If an Heathen come in, and heare you speake with feuerall Tongues, Will he not fay that you are mad?b And certainly, it is little better, when Atheists, and prophane Persons, do heare of so many Discordant, and Contrary Opinions 16 in Religion; It doth auert them from the Church, and maketh them, To fit downe in the chaire of the Scorners.c It is but a light Thing. to be Vouched in fo Serious a Matter, but yet it expreffeth well the Deformity. There is a Mafter of Scoffing; that in his Catalogue of Books, of a faigned Library, fets Downe this Title of a Booke; The morris daunce17 of Heretikes.d For indeed, every Sect of them, hath a Diuers Posture,18 or Cringe 19 by themfelues, which cannot but Moue Derifion, in Worldlings, and Depraued Politickes, who are apt to contemne Holy Things.

As for the Fruit 20 towards those 21 that are within; It is *Peace*; which containeth infinite Bleffings: It eftablisheth Faith; It kindleth Charity; The outward Peace of the Church, Diffilleth into Peace of Conscience: And it turneth the Labours, of Writing, and Reading of Controuersies, into Treaties of Mortification, and

Denotion.

c Ps. i. I.

a Matthew xxvi. 26. (Vulgate). b 1 Cor. xiv. 23.

d La Morisque des hereticques. Rabelais. Pantagruel. ii. 7.

Cringe. Gestus Deformitatem, 'deformity of carriage.'
 Fruit. Fructus Vnitatis, 'fruit of unity.'
 Towards those. Qui ad eos . . . redundat, 'which abounds towards those.'

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religion. 25 Extremes. In iis statuendis videntur fieri, 'seem to be made in fixing them.'

Bounds. Terminos et Limites, 'bounds and limits.'
 True. Vera proculdubio et justa, 'doubtless the true and right.'
 Importeth. Ad omnia in Religione, 'to every thing connected with

²⁶ After Luke-warme. In causis Religionis, 'in matters of religion.'
27 The two crosse Clauses. Clausulis illis, quae primo intuitu, inter se opponi videntur, 'those clauses, which at first sight, seem to be opposed.'

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Concerning the Bounds 22 of Vnity; The true28 Placing of them, importeth ²⁴ exceedingly. There appeare to be two extremes. ²⁵ For to certaine Zelants all Speech of Pacification is odious. Is it peace, Iehu? What hast thou to doe with peace? turne thee behinde me.a Peace is not the Matter, but Following and Party. Contrariwife, certaine Laodiceans, and Luke-warme 26 Persons, thinke they may accommodate Points of Religion, by Middle Waies, and taking part of both; And witty Reconcilements; As if they would make an Arbitrement, betweene God and Man. Both thefe Extremes are to be auovded; which will be done, if the League of Christians, penned by our Saujour himfelfe, were in the two croffe Claufes²⁷ thereof, foundly and plainly expounded; He that is not with vs, is against vs: b And againe; He that is not against vs, is with vs: That is, if the Points Fundamentall and of Substance in Religion, were truly discerned and distinguished, from Points not meerely of Faith, but of Opinion, Order, or good Intention.²⁸ This is a Thing, may feeme to many, a Matter triuiall, and done already:29 But if it were done leffe partially,30 it would be embraced more generally.

Of this I may give onely this Aduice, according to my fmall Modell. Men ought to take heede, of rending Gods Church, by two kinds of Controuerfies. The one is, when the Matter of the Point controuerted, is too fmall and light, not worth the Heat,31 and Strife about it, kindled onely by Contradiction. For, as it is noted³² by one of the Fathers; Christs

a 2 Kings ix. 18.

b Matt. xii. 30. c Mark ix. 40.

²⁸ Points . . . good Intention. Quænon sunt ex Fide, sed ex Opinione probabili, et Intentione sancta, profter ordinem, et Ecclesiæ politium, sancta, 'which are not of faith, but of probable opinion, aud ratified by a holy intention, for the sake of order and the government of the church.'

29 And done already. In quo quis actum agat: 'in which to act.'

30 Partially. Minore partium studio, 'with less party zeal.

³¹ Heat. Omitted in the Latin.
32 Noted. Acute, et eleganter, 'acutely and elegantly.'

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31 Of Judgement. Doctus, 'learned.'

34 Differ. De aliqua Quæstione, inter se litigantes, 'disputing about some

35 Meane one thing. Idem re ipsa sentire, et in unum convenire, 'really think the same, and meet in one point.'

36 Distance. Exigua illa Judicii disparitate, 'in that little disparity of judgment.'

137 Knowes. Scrutatur et novit, 'searches and knows.'
38 Nature. Natura et Character, 'nature and character.'
39 Put. Efingunt et cudant, 'fashion and stamp.'
40 Fixed. Fixa et invariabilia, 'fixed and unvaryng,'
41 There be also. Sunt etiam, ut Controversiarum, 'there be also, as of controversies.

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Coat, indeed, had no feame: But the Churches Vesture was of divers colours; a whereupon he faith, In veste varietas fit, Sciffura non fit; They be two Things, Vnity, and Vniformity. The other is, when the Matter of the Point Controuerted is great; but it is driven to an ouer-great Subtilty, and Obscurity; So that it becommeth a Thing, rather Ingenious, then Substantiall. A man that is of Judgement 33 and vnderstanding, fhall fometimes heare Ignorant Men differ.34 and know well within himfelfe, that those which fo differ, meane one thing, 35 and vet they themselues would neuer agree. And if it come so to passe, in that diftance³⁶ of Iudgement, which is betweene Man and Man; Shall wee not thinke, that God aboue, that knowes³⁷ the Heart, doth not difcerne, that fraile Men, in some of their Contradictions, intend the same thing; and accepteth of both? The Nature 38 of fuch Controuerfies, is excellently expressed, by St. Paul, in the Warning and Precept, that he giueth, concerning the fame, Deuita profanas vocum Nouitates, et Oppositiones falsi Nominis Scientiæ. Men create Oppositions, which are not; And put them³⁹ into new termes, fo fixed.⁴⁰ as whereas the Meaning ought to gouerne the Terme, the Terme in effect gouerneth the Meaning. There be also⁴¹ two salse Peaces, ⁴² or Vnities; ⁴³ The one, when the *Peace* is grounded but vpon an implicite ignorance; For all Colours will agree in the Darke: The other, when it is peeced vp,44 vpon a direct Admiffion of Contraries, 45 in Fundamentall Points. For Truth and Falshood, in such things, are like the Iron

^a The allusion is to Ps. xlv. 14, where, instead of 'in raiment of needlework,' the Vulgate has circumamicta varietatibus, 'enveloped with varieties.'
^b In raiment let there be variety, but not rents. St. Bernard. Ad Guilte tum Abbatem Apologia. pp. 983, 4. Ed. 1640.

o 1 Tim. vi. 20.

<sup>Peaces, or. Omitted in the Latin.
Vnities. Vnitatis Species, 'kinds of unity.'
Peeced vp. Consula et sarcita, 'sewn together and patched
Admission of Contraries. Ex positionibus ex diametro inter se contrariis, 'from positions directly contradictory.'</sup>

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Turre-

tius the Poet, when hee beheld the act of Agamemnon, induring and affifting at the facrifice of his daughter. concludes with this verse:

Tantum relligio potuit fuadere malorum.

But what would hee haue done, if he had knowne the maffacre of France, or the powder treason of England? Certainly he would have beene feuen times more Epicure and Atheist then he was. Nay, hee would rather have chosen to be one of the Mad men of

⁴⁶ Be. Recipiuntur, 'are received.'

⁴⁷ In the maintenance of Religion. In Religione Christiana propug nanda, et protegenda, 'in defending and protecting the christian religion.

48 Ouert. Aperti, et insolentis; 'overt and insolent.'

49 Intermixture. Omitted in the Latin.

⁵⁰ Subuersion of all Gouernment Ad Majestatem Imperii minuendam, et Auctoritatem Magistratuum labefactandam, 'to diminish the majesty of government, and subvert the authority of magistrates.'

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and Clay, in the toes of Nabucadnezars Image; They may Cleaue, but they will not Incorporate.

Concerning the Meanes of procuring Vnity; Men must beware, that in the Procuring, or Muniting, of Religious Vnity, they doe not Diffolue and Deface the Lawes of Charity, and of humane Society. There be 46 two Swords amongst Christians; the Spirituall, and Temporall; And both haue their due Office, and place, in the maintenance of Religion. 47 But we may not take vp the Third fword, which is Mahomets Sword, or like vnto it; That is, to propagate Religion, by Warrs, or by Sanguinary Perfecutions, to force Confciences; except it be in the cases of Ouert48 Scandall, Blasphemy, or Intermixture⁴⁹ of Practize, against the State; Much leffe to Nourish Seditions; To Authorize Conspiracies and Rebellions; To put the Sword into the Peoples Hands; And the like; Tending to the Subuerfion of all Gouernment,⁵⁰ which is the Ordinance of God.⁵¹ For this is, but to dash the first Table, 52 against the Second; And so to consider Men as Christians, as we forget that they are Men. Lucretius the Poet, when he beheld the Act of Agamemnon, that could endure⁵³ the Sacrificing of his owne Daughter, exclaimed;

Tantum Relligio potuit fuadere malorum.c

What would he haue faid, if he had knowne of the Massacre in France, or the Powder Treason of Eng-He would have beene, Seuen times more Epicure and Atheist, then he was. For as the temporall Sword, is to bee drawne, 54 with great circum-

a Daniel. ii. 33.

b Exodus. xxxii. 19. c To such a degree is Religion capable of occasioning evils. Lucretius. De rerum Natura, i, 102.

⁵¹ Ordinance of God. Cum tamen omnis Legitima potestas sit a Deo ordinata, 'since all lawful power is ordained by God.' 52 Table. Tabulis legis, 'tables of the law.' 53 Endure. Omitted in the Latin.

⁵⁴ After Drawne. Non temere, sed, 'not rashly, but.'

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Munster, then to have beene a partaker of those Coun-For it is better that Religion should deface mens vnderstanding, then their piety and charitie; retaining reason onely but as an Engine, and Charriot

driver of cruelty, and malice.

It was a great blafphemie, when the Diuellfaid: I will afcend, and be like the highest: but it is a greater blafphemie, if they make God to fav: I will defcend, and bee like the Prince of Darkneffe: and it is no better, when they make the cause of Religion defcend, to the execrable accions of murthering of Princes, butchery of people, and firing Neither is there fuch a of States. finne against the person of the holy Ghost, (if one should take it literally) as in flead of the likenes of a Doue, to bring him downe in the likeneffe of a Vulture, or Rauen; nor fuch a fcandall to their Church, as out of the Barke of Saint Peter, to fet forth the flagge of a Barge of Pirats and Affaffins. Therefore fince these things are the common enemies of humane fociety; Princes by their power: Churches by their all learning, Christian, morall, of what soeuer sect, or opinion, by their Mercurie rod; ought to joyne in the damning to Hell for euer, these facts, and their supports:

and in all Counfels concerning Religion, that Counfell of the Apostle, would be prefixed, Ira hominis non implet iustitiam Dei.

<sup>Personate. Omitted in the Latin.
Descend. Descendat, et pracipitetur, 'descend and be cast down.'
States. Omitted in the Latin.</sup>

⁵⁸ Most necessary. Yustumest, et id ipsum necessitas Temporum flagitat, it is just, and the necessity of the times demands it.' 59 Christian. Religiosæ, 'religious.' 60 Prefixed. Ante oculos Hominum, 'before the eyes of men.'

⁶¹ And it was. Vtverum dicamus, 'to speak the truth.

⁶² Notable Observation. Optime, et prudentissime observatum, verv well and wisely observed '

in wise rather. At uno ex Patribus, profundæ sapientiæ viro; 'by one of the Fathers, a man of deep wisdom.

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spection, in Cases of Religion; So it is a thing monstrous, to put it into the hands of the Common People. Let that bee left vnto the Anabaptifts, and other Furies.

It was great Blasphemy, when the Deuill said: I will afcend, and be like the Highest; a But it is greater Blafphemy, to personate⁵⁵ God, and bring him in saying; I will descend, and be like the Prince of Darknesse; And what is it better, to make the cause of Religion, to descend,56 to the cruell and execrable Actions, of Murthering Princes, Butchery of People, and Subuerfion of States,⁵⁷ and Gouernments? Surely, this is to bring Downe the Holy Ghoft,

in flead of the Liknesse of a Doue. in the Shape of a Vulture, or Rauen:

And to fet, out of the

Barke of a Christian Church, a Flagge of a Barque of Pirats, and Affafsins. Therfore it is most neceffary,58 that the Church by Doctrine and Decree; Princes by their Sword; And all Learnings, both Christian⁵⁹ and Morall.

as by their Mercury Rod; Doe Damne and fend to Hell, for euer, those Facts and Opinions, tending to the Support of the fame; As hath beene already in good part done. Surely in Counfels, Concerning Religion, that Counfel of the Apostle would be prefixed; 60 Ira hominis non implet Iusticiam Dei. And it was 61 a notable Observation, 62 of a wife Father, 63 And no lesse ingenuoufly64 confessed;65 That those, which held and perswaded, pressure of Consciences, were commonly intereffed therin, themselves, for their owne ends.66

⁻⁻⁻⁻ E 22 3 ····

a Isaiah xiv. 14. b James i. 20.

⁶⁴ Ingenuously. Ingenue, et sincere, 'ingenuously and sincerely.'
65 Confessed. Prolatum, et evulgatum, 'uttered and published.'
66 Interessed therin . . . owne ends. Sub illo Dogmate, Cupiditates
suas subtexere, illamque rem sua interesse, putare, 'cover their desires with
this doctrine, and consider themselves interested therein.'

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4. Of Cunning.



IEE take Cunning for a finisher or crooked Wifdome: and certainely there is a great difference betweene a cunning man, and a wife man: not onely in point of honefty,

but in point of ability. There be that can pack the cards and yet cannot play well. So there are fome. that are good in canuasses and factions, that are otherwife weake men. Againe, it is one thing to vnderstand persons, and another thing to vnderstand matters: for many are perfect in mens humors, that are not greatly capable of the reall part of busineffe: which is the constitution of one, that hath fludied men more then bookes. Such men are fitter for practife, then for counfell, and they are good but in their owne Alley; turne them to new men, and they have loft their aime. So as the old rule to know a foole from a wife man; Mitte ambos nudos ad ignotos et videbis; doth fcarce hold for them.

DE. Variations in posthumous Latin Edition of 1638.

3 Humours. Aditibus, et Temporibus, 'accessibilities and time.'
4 Alley. Viis, quas sape contriverunt, 'the ways which they have often

Factions. Factionibus regendis, 'ruling factions.'
 Persons. Personarum Naturas et Mores, 'the natures and manners of

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British Museum Copy.

22. Of Cunning.



take Cunning for a Sinister or Crooked Wisedome. And certainly, there is great difference, between a Cunning Man, and a Wife Man; Not onely in Point of Honesty,

but in point of Ability. There be that can packe the Cards, and yet cannot play well; So there are fome, that are good in Canuaffes, and Factions,1 that are otherwife Weake Men. Againe, it is one thing to vnderstand Persons,2 and another thing to vnderstand Matters; For many are perfect in Mens Humours.3 that are not greatly Capable of the Reall Part of Bufinesse: Which is the Constitution of one, that hath fludied Men, more then Bookes. Such Men are fitter for Practife, then for Counfell; And they are good but in their own Alley:4 Turne them to New Men, and they have loft their Ayme; 5 So as the old Rule, to know a Foole from a Wife Man: Mitte ambos nudos6 ad ignotos, et videbis; a doth scarce hold for them. And because these Cunning Men, are like Haberdashers of Small Wares, it is not amiffe to fet forth their Shop.

It is a point of Cunning; to wait vpon him, with whom you speake, with your eye; As the Iesuites give it in precept: For there be many Wife Men, that have Secret Hearts, and Transparant Countenances. Yet this would be done, with a demure Abasing of your Eve fometimes, as the Iefuites also doe vse.

Another is, that when you have any thing to obtaine

^a A saying of Aristippus. Place both naked before unknown persons, and you will see. Diog. Laertes. ii. 73.
"One of the Philosophers was askt; What a wise Man differed from a Foole? He answered; Send them both naked, to those that know them not, and you will perceive." Lord Bacon's Apophth, No. 255. Ed. 1625.

⁵ Ayme. Artibus, 'skill.' ⁶ Nudos. Omitted in the Latin.

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⁷ Dispatch. Aliquid propere, et facile obtinere et expedire cupias, 'you desire to obtain and despatch any thing speedily and easily.'
8 Obiections. Objectiones et Scrupulos, 'objections and scruples.'
9 Estate. Rebus Status gravioribus, 'about weightier matters of state.'
10 One was about to say. Sermonis, 'talk.'
11 Tooke himself vp. Deprehenderet, et contineret, 'took himself up and restrained himself.'

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of prefent difpatch,⁷ you entertaine, and amufe the party, with whom you deale, with fome other Difcourse; That he be not too much awake, to make Objections.8 I knew a Counfellor and Secretary, that neuer came to Queene Elizabeth of England, with Bills to figne, but he would alwaies first put her into some discourse of Estate,9 that she mought the lesse mind e the Bills.

The like Surprize, may be made, by Mouing things, when the Party is in haste, and cannot stay, to consi-

der aduifedly, of that is moued.

If a man would croffe a Bufineffe, that he doubts fome other would handsomely and effectually moue, let him pretend to wish it well, and moue it himselfe, in fuch fort, as may foile it.

The breaking off, in the midst of that, one was about to fav. 10 as if he tooke himselfe vp. 11 breeds a greater Appetite in him, with whom you conferre, to

know more.

And because it workes better, when any thing feemeth12 to be gotten from you by Question, then if you offer it of your felfe, you may lay a Bait for a Question, by shewing another Visage and Countenance, then you are wont; To the end, to giue Occasion, for the party to aske, what the Matter is of the Change?¹³ As Nehemias did; And I had not before that time been fad before the King,a

In Things, that are tender and vnpleafing, it is good to breake the Ice,14 by fome whose Words are of lesse weight, and to referue15 the more weighty Voice, to come in, as by chance, fo that he may be asked the

a Nehemiah. ii. 1.

¹² Seemeth. Omitted in the Latin.
13 Change. Oris mutatio, 'change of [your] face.'
14 Breake the Ice. Initia, de its Sermonem inferendi, alicui alteri defutere, 'to entrust the beginning of the talk about them to some other.'
16 Reserve. In Subsidiis reservare, 'reserve as a support.'

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¹⁶ Others. Qui ab altero injectus est, 'which was thrown out by the other.'

¹⁷ Seen in, himselfe. Quas a se amoliri quis cupiat, 'which a person wishes to be removed from him.'

A point of Cunning. Non inutile, 'not useless,'
 Point. Species satis vafra, 'subtle enough kind,'
 Take Aduantage. Alterum irretiat et subruat, 'ensnare and undermine the other.

²¹ Good Quarter betweene. Invicem anice, 'friendly together.'
22 It. Illud Genus Honoris, 'that kind of honour.'
23 Caught vp. Bona fide arripuit, 'caught up in good faith'

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Question vpon the others 16 Speech. As Narcisfus did, in relating to Claudius, the Marriage of Messalina and Silius. 4

In things, that a Man would not be feen in, himfelfe; ¹⁷ It is a Point of *Cunning*, ¹⁸ to borrow the Name of the World; As to fay; *The World fayes*, Or, *There is a fpeech abroad*.

I knew one, that when he wrote a Letter, he would put that which was most Materiall, in the *Post-fcript*,

as if it had been a By-matter.

I knew another, that when he came to haue Speech, he would paffe ouer that, that he intended most, and goe forth, and come backe againe, and speake of it, as

of a Thing, that he had almost forgot.

Some procure themselues, to be surprized, at such times, as it is like, the party that they work vpon, will suddenly come vpon them: And to be sound with a Letter in their hand, or doing somewhat which they are not accustomed; To the end, they may be apposed of those things, which of themselues they are desirous to ytter.

It is a Point¹⁹ of *Cunning*, to let fall those Words, in a Mans owne Name, which he would have another Man learne, and vse, and thereupon take Advantage.²⁹ I knew two, that were Competitors, for the Secretaries Place, in *Queene Elizabeths* time, and yet kept good Quarter betweene²¹ themselves; And would conferre, one with another, vpon the Businesse; And the one of them said, That to be a Secretary, in the *Declination of a Monarchy*, was a Ticklish Thing, and that he did not affect it:²² The other, straight caught vp²³ those

[&]quot;By first employing the Emperor's two chief mistresses, "Calpurnia, therefore, for that was the name of the courtesan, upon the first occasion of privacy, falling at the emperor's feet, exclaimed 'that Messalina had married Silius;' and at the same time asked Cleopatra [the other mistress], who purposely attended to attest it, 'whether she had not found it to be true?' Claudius, upon a confirmation from Cleopatra, ordered Narcissus to be called," &... Tacitus. Annals. xi. 30.

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26 After Monarchy. Cum ipsa se vigentem reputaret, 'since she consi-

dered herself flourishing.'

²⁴ Those Words. Verta illa, callide frolata, 'those words, craftily uttered.'

²⁵ After the Queene. Tanquam scilicet ab altero prolata, 'as if they had been vttered by the other.

²⁷ Cunning. Astutive Genus, 'kind of cunning.'
28 Call. Satis absurde dicitur, 'is called, absurdly enough.'
29 Cat (cate). Felem, 'cat.'
30 Make it appeare. Probare et verificare, 'prove and verify.'

³¹ A way. Artificium in usu, 'an artifice in use.'

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Words, 24 and discoursed with divers of his Friends, that he had no reason to desire to be Secretary, in the Declination of a Monarchy. The first Man tooke hold of it, and found Meanes, it was told the Queene; 25 Who hearing of a Declination of a Monarchy, 26 tooke it fo ill, as the would neuer after heare of the others Suit.

There is a Cunning, 27 which we in England call, 28 The Turning of the Cat²⁹ in the Pan; which is, when that which a Man faves to another, he laies it, as if Another had faid it to him. And to fay Truth, it is not easie, when such a Matter passed between two, to make it appeare, 30 from which of them, it first moued and began.

It is a way,³¹ that fome men haue, to glaunce and dart at Others, by Iustifying themselues, by Negatiues; As to fay, This I doe not: As Tigillinus did towards Burrhus; 32 Se non diversas spes, sed Incolumitatem Imperatoris simplicitèr spectare.a

Some haue in readinesse, so many Tales and Stories, as there is Nothing, they would infinuate, but they can wrap it into a Tale; which ferueth both to keepe themselues more in Guard, 33 and to make others carry it,34 with more Pleafure.

It is a good Point of Cunning, for a Man, to shape the Answer he would have, in his owne Words, and Propositions;35 For it makes the other Party sticke the leffe.

It is ftrange, how long fome Men will lie in wait, to speake somewhat, they defire to say; And how farre about they will fetch; And how many other Matters

^a HE entertained not different hopes [hinting that Burrhus did] but simply consulted the safety of the Emperor. Tacitus. Annals. xiv. 57.

After Burrhus. Sugillando, 'suggesting.'
 After Guard. Quasi nihil diserte affirmantes, 'as saying nothing ex-

³⁴ Carry it. Rem ipsam majore cum voluptate spargi, 'make the thing be spread with more pleasure.'

35 Words, and Propositions. Conceptis verbis, 'in words conceived by

himself.

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[See fimilar paragraph below.]

Euen in bufineffethere are fome that know the reforts and fals of busines, that cannot finke into the maine of it: like a house that hath convenient staires and entries, but neuer a faire roome. Therefore you shall fee them finde out pretty loofes in the conclusion, but are no waies able to examine or debate matters: and yet commonly they take aduantage of their inability, and would be thought wits of direction. Some build rather vpon abusing others, and as wee now fay, putting trickes vpon them, then vpon foundnesse of their owne proceedings. But Salomon faith, Prudens advertit ad greffus fuos: stultus divertit ad dolos.

Very many are the differences betweene cunning and wisdome: and it were a good deed to set them downe: for that nothing doth more hurte in state then

that cunning men passe for wife.



³⁶ Vnexpected. Omitted in the Latin.

³⁷ List. Uberiorem Catalogum, 'fuller list.'
38 Maine. Viscera, et interiora, 'body and interior.'
39 Conclusion. Conclusionibus Deliberationum, 'conclusions of deliberations.

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they will beat ouer, to come neare it. It is a Thing

of great Patience, but yet of much Vfe.

A fudden, bold, and vnexpected Queftion, doth many times furprife a Man, and lay him open. Like to him, that having changed his Name, and walking in *Pauls*, Another fuddenly came behind him, and called him by his true Name, whereat straightwaies he looked backe.

But these Small Wares, and Petty Points of *Cunning*, are infinite: And it were a good deed, to make a List ³⁷ of them: For that nothing doth more hurt in a State,

then that Cunning Men passe for Wife.

But certainly, fome there are, that know the Reforts and Falls of Businesse, that cannot sinke into the Maine³⁸ of it: Like a House, that hath convenient Staires, and Entries, but never a faire Roome. Therfore, you shall see them finde out pretty Looses in the Conclusion,³⁹ but are no waies able to Examine, or debate Matters. And yet commonly they take advantage of their Inability, and would be thought Wits of direction.⁴⁰ Some build rather vpon the Abusing of others, and (as we now say;) Putting Tricks vpon them; ⁴¹ Then vpon Soundnesse of their own proceedings. ⁴² But Salomon saith: Prudens advertit ad Gressus successive stutus divertit ad Dolos.⁴



sound counsels.

⁴ Prov. xiv. 15.

⁴⁰ After Direction. Potuis quam Disputandum, 'rather than of discussion.'

⁴¹ Some build . . . vpon them. Sunt qui magis innituntur Doiis, quos aliis struunt, 'some rather lean upon snares which they lay for others.' ⁴² Proceedings. Quam Consiliis solidiis et sanis, 'than upon solid and

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12. Of Lone.



Oue is the argument alwaies of Comedies, and many times of Tragedies. Which sheweth well, that it is a passion generally light, and sometimes extreme.

Extreame it may well bee, fince the speaking in a perpetuall *Hyperbole*, is comely in nothing but *Loue*. Neither is it meerely in the phrase. For whereas it

BH. Variations in posthumous Latin Edition of 1638.

¹ Law-giuer. Legislatorum inter Romanos Principem, 'the chief of Roman law-givers.'

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British Museum Copy.

10. Of Lone.

HE Stage is more beholding to Love, then the Life of Man. For as to the Stage, Loue is euer matter of Comedies, and now and then of Tragedies: But in Life, it doth much

mischiefe: Sometimes like a Syren: Sometimes like a You may observe, that amongst all the great and worthy Persons, (whereof the memory remaineth. either Ancient or Recent) there is not One, that hath beene transported, to the mad degree of Loue: which fhewes, that great Spirits, and great Bufineffe, doe keepe out this weake Passion. You must except. neuertheleffe, Marcus Antonius the halfe Partner of the Empire of Rome; and Appius Claudius the Decemuir, and Law-giuer: Whereof the former, was indeed a Voluptuous Man, and Inordinate; but the latter. was an Austere, and wife man: And therefore it feemes (though rarely) that Loue can finde entrance. not only into an open Heart; but also into a Heart well fortified; if watch be not well kept. poore² Saying of Epicurus; Satis magnum Alter Alteri Theatrum fumus: a As if Man, made for the contemplation of Heauen, and all Noble Objects.3 fhould doe nothing, but kneele before a little Idoll, and make himselfe subject, though not of the Mouth (as Beasts are) yet of the Eye; which was given him for higher Purposes. It is a strange Thing, to note the Excesse of this Passion; And how it braues, the Nature, and value of things; by this, that the Speaking in a Perpetuall Hyperbole, is comely in nothing, but in Loue. Neither is it meerely in the Phrase; For whereas it

We are a sufficiently great theater, the one to the other, Seneca. Epistles. i. 7.

Poore. Abjectum, et pusillanimum, 'mean and small-minded.'
 Noble Obiects. Cwlestium, 'heavenly things.'

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hath beene well faid, that the Arch-flatterer with whom al the petty-flatterers haue intelligence, is a Mans felfe, certainely the louer is more. For there was neuer proud Man thought fo abfurdly well of himfelfe, as the louer doth of the person loued; and therefore it was well faid, that it is impossible to loue, and to bee wife. Neither doth this weakenes appeare to others only, and not to the party loued, but to the loued most of all, except the loue bee reciproque. For it is a true rule, that loue is euer rewarded either with the reciproque, or with an inward and fecret contempt. But how much the more, men ought to beware of this passion, which loseth not onely other things, but it felfe. As for the other loffes, the Poets relation doth wel figure them: That hee that preferred Helena, quitted the gifts of Iuno and Pallas. For whofoeuer esteemeth too much of amorous affection, quitteth both riches and wifdome. This paffion hath his flouds in the verie times of weakeneffe; Which are great prosperity, and great adversitie. (though this latter hath beene leffe observed) Both which times kindle loue and make it more feruent, and therefore shewe it to be the childe of folly. doe best that affection keepe quarter, and feuer it wholly from their ferious affaires and actions of their life. For if it checke once with bufineffe, it troubleth Mens fortunes. and maketh Men, that they can no waies be true to their own endes.



⁴ Well said. Recte itaque receptum est illud Diverbium, 'rightly therefore, has that saying been received.'
5 Instead of That it is impossible to loue, and to be wise. Amare et sagere vix Peo conceditur, 'to love and be wise is scarcely allowed to a God.'

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hath beene well faid, 4a that the Arch-flatterer, with whom all the petty Flatterers haue Intelligence, is a Mans Selfe: Certainly, the Louer is more. For there was neuer Proud Man, thought fo abfurdly well of himselfe, as the Louer doth of the Person loued: And therefore, it was well faid; That it is impossible to love, and to be wife. 66 Neither doth this weaknesse appeare to others onely, and not to the Party Loued; But to the Loued, most of all: except the Loue be reciproque. For, it is a true Rule, that Loue is euer rewarded. either with the Reciproque, or with an inward, and fecret Contempt. By how much the more, Men ought to beware of this Paffion, which lofeth not only other things, but it felfe. As for the other loffes, the Poets Relation, doth well figure them; That he that preferred Helena, quitted the Gifts of Iuno, and Pallas. For whofoeuer efteemeth too much of Amorous Affection, quitteth both Riches, and Wifedome. This Paffion, hath his Flouds, in the very times of Weakneffe; which are, great Prosperitie; and great Adversitie; though this latter hath beene leffe observed. Both which times kindle Loue, and make it more feruent. and therefore flew it to be the Childe of Folly. They doe best, who, if they cannot but admit Loue, yet make it keepe Quarter: And feuer it wholly, from their ferious Affaires, and Actions of life: For if it checke once with Bufineffe, it troubleth Mens Fortunes,6 and maketh Men, that they can, no wayes be true, to their owne Ends.

I know not how,7 but Martiall Men, are given to Loue: I thinke it is, but as they are given to Wine;

a Plutarch. De Adulatore et Amico. xi. b Publius Syrus. Sententia. xv.

⁶ Mens Fortunes. Omnia, 'everything.'
7 I know not how. Quiquid in re sit, 'However it may be.'

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8 Friars. Monachis, 'Monks."

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For *Perils*, commonly aske, to be paid in *Plea-fures*. There is in Mans Nature, a fecret Inclination, and Motion, towards *loue* of others; which, if it be not fpent, vpon fome one, or a few, doth naturally fpread it felfe, towards many; and maketh men become Humane and Charitable; As it is feene fometime in Friars. Nuptiall *loue* maketh Mankinde; Friendly *loue* perfecteth it; but Wanton *loue* Corrupteth, and Imbafeth it.



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British Museum Copy.

36. Of Indicature.



Vdges ought to remember that their office is Ius dicere, and not Yus dare; to interprete law, and not to make law, or give Law; Elfe will it be like the prefumption

of the Church of Rome, which vnder pretext of exposition of Scripture, vsurpeth and practifeth an authority to adde and alter; and to pronounce that which they doe not finde, and by colour of Antiquity to introduce nouelty. Iudges ought to be more learned men then wittie; more reuerend then plaufible, and more aduifed then confident, Aboue all things integrity is their portion and proper vertue. Curfed (faith the Law) is hee that removueth the Land-marke. The mislaier of a Meerestone is too blame. But it is the vniust Iudge that is the capitall remouer of Landmarkes, when hee defineth amiffe of lands and property. One foule fentence doth more hurt, then many foule examples; for they doe but corrupt the streame; the other corrupteth the fountaine. So faith Salomon; Fons turbatus et vena corrupta est iustus cadens in causa sua coram adversario; The office of Iudges may have reference vnto the parties that fue; vnto the Aduocates that pleade; vnto the Clerkes and Ministers of Iustice vnderneth them; and to the Soueraigne or State aboue them.

There be

(faith the Scripture) that turne iudgement into wormegood; and furelie there be also that turne it into vinegar: For iniuftice maketh it bitter, and delaies

DH. Variations in posthumous Latin Edition of 1638.

¹ TITLE. De Officio Indicis, 'of the judge's office.'
2 Or Giue Law. Omitted in the Latin.
3 Meere Stone. Lapidem, Fines distinguentem, 'a stone marking boun-

ν.

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British Museum Copy.

56. Of Judicature.1



Vages ought to remember, that their Office is Ius dicere, and not Ius dare; To Interpret Law, and not to Make Law, or Giue Law. Elfe will it be like the Authority, claimed by

the Church of Rome; which vnder pretext of Exposi-

tion of Scripture, doth not flicke to

Adde and Alter; And to Pronounce that, which they doe not Finde; And by *Shew* of *Antiquitie*, to introduce *Noueltie*. *Indges* ought to be more Learned,

then Wittie; More Reuerend, then Plaufible; And more Aduifed, then Confident. Aboue all Things, Integritie is their Portion, and Proper Vertue. Curfed (faith the Law) is hee that remouth the Land-marke.^a The Miflaier of a Meere Stone³ is to blame. But it is the Vniust Iudge, that is the Capitall Remouer of Landmarkes, when he Defineth amisse of Lands and Propertie. One Foule Sentence, doth more Hurt, then many Foule Examples. For these doe but Corrupt the Streame; The other Corrupteth the Fountaine. So saith Salomon; Fens turbatus, et Vena corrupta, est Iussus cadens in causa fusa coram Adversario.^b The Office of Iudges, may have Reserence, Vnto the Parties that sue; Vnto the Advocates that Plead; Vnto the Clerkes and Ministers of Iustice vnderneath them; And to the Soveraigne or State above them.

First, for the Causes or Parties that Sue. There be (faith the Scripture) that turne Iudgement into Wormewood; And surely, there be also, that turne it into Vinegar; For Iniustice maketh it Bitter, and Delaies

a Deut. xxvii. 17. b Prov. xxv. 26.

c Amos v. 7.

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make it fowre. The principall duty of a Judge, is to suppresse force and fraude; wherof force is the more pernitious, the more open; and fraud the more close and disguised. Adde thereto contentious suites. which ought to be spewed out as the furset of Courts. A Judge ought to prepare his way to a just fentence, as God vfeth to prepare his way, by raifing valleis and taking downe hils: So when their appeareth on either fide an high hand, violent profecution, running aduantages taken, combination, power, great counfell, then is the vertue of a Judge feene, to make inequality equall; that he may plant his judgement as vpon an euen ground. Qui fortiter emungit, elicit fanguinem; And where the winepresse is hard wrought, it yeelds a harsh wine that tastes of the grapestone. Iudges must beware of hard constructions and strained inferences; for there is no worse torture then the torture of lawes: specially in case of Lawes penall; they ought to have care that that which was meant for terrour, be not turned into rigour; and that they bring not vpon the people that shower whereof the Scripture speaketh; Pluet fuper eos laqueos: For penall lawes preffed, are a showre of fnares vpon the people.

In causes of life and death, Judges ought as farre (as the law permitteth) in iustice to remember mercy;

<sup>Iudge. Sudex strenuus, 'an active judge.'
There appeareth. Videt judex, 'the judge sees.'
Power. Patrocinio potentum, 'patronage of powerful men.'
Terat Counsel. Advocatorum Disparitate, et Similibus, 'disparity of counsel, and the like.'</sup>

⁸ Constructions. Interpretationibus Legum, 'constructions of the laws.'

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make it Soure. The Principall Dutie of a Iudge,4 is to fuppresse Force and Fraud; whereof Force is the more Pernicious, when it is Open; And Fraud, when it is Clofe and Difguifed. Adde thereto Contentious Suits. which ought to be spewed out, as the Surfet of Courts. A *Judge* ought to prepare his Way to a Just Sentence, as God vieth to prepare his Way, by Raifing Valleys, and Taking downe Hills: a So when there appeareth5 on either fide, an High Hand; Violent Profecution. Cunning Aduantages taken, Combination, Power,⁶ Great Counfell, then is the Vertue of a *Iudge* feene, to make Inequalitie Equall; That he may plant his Iudgement, as voon an Euen Ground. Qui fortiter emungit, elicit fanguinem; b And where the Wine-Presse is hard wrought, it yeelds a harsh Wine, that tastes of the Grape-stone. Iudges must beware of Hard Constructions,8 and Strained Inferences; For there is no Worfe Torture, then the Torture of Lawes. Specially in cafe of Lawes Penall, they ought to have Care, that that which was meant for Terrour, be not turned into Rigour; And that they bring not vpon the People, that Shower, whereof the Scripture speaketh; Pluet fuper eos Laqueos: For Penall Lawes Pressed, 9 are a Shower of Snares vpon the People. Therefore, let Penall Lawes, if they have beene Sleepers of long, or if they be growne vnfit for the prefent Time, be by Wife *Judges* confined in the Execution;

Iudicis Officium eft, vt Res, ita Tempora Rerum, &c.d In Caufes of Life and Death; Iudges ought (as farre as the Law permitteth) in Iustice to remember Mercy;

a Isaiah. xl. 4.

b Prov. xxx. 33.

a It is a duty of a judge to enquire not only as to the fact, but also as to the circumstances. Ovid. Tristia. i. 1. 37.

⁹ Pressed. Si severe Executioni demandentur, 'if severely put in execution.'

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and to cast a seuere eie vpon the example, but a mercifull eie vpon the person.

Patience and grauity of hearing is an effential part of iustice, and an ouerspeaking Judge is no well tuned Cymball. It is no grace to a Judge, first to finde that which hee might have heard in due time from the Barre; or to flew quicknesse of conceit in cutting of counfell or euidence too short; or to preuent information by questions, though pertinent. partes of a Iudge are foure; to direct the euidence; to moderate length, repetition, or impertinency of speech; to recapitulate, select, and collate the materiall points of that which hath beene faid; and to give the rule or fentence. Whatfoeuer is aboue thefe, is too much; and proceedeth either of glory and willingnesse to speake, or of impatience to heare, or of shortnesse of memory, or of want of a flaid or equall attention. It is a ftrange thing to fee, that the boldnesse of Aduocates should preuaile with Iudges; whereas they should imitate God, in whose feate they fit, who represent the presumptuous, and giveth grace to the modest. But it is more strange, that the custome of the time doth warrant Iudges to haue noted fauourites, which cannot but cause multipliand fuspition of by-waies. cation of fees, There is due from the Iudge to the Aduocate, fome commendation and gracing, where causes are well handled and faire pleaded; fpeciallie towards the fide which obtaineth not; For that vpholds in

¹⁰ Finde. In Causa inveniat, et arripiat, 'find and lay hold of in the

¹¹ Heard. Melius audire, 'better heard.'

¹² Length. Advocatorum, et Testium, Prolixitatem, 'length of advocates and witnesses.'

¹³ Rule. Omitted in the Latin.
14 Giueth Grace to. Erigere, 'raiseth.
15 Noted Fauourites. Aavocatis quibusdam præ cæteris immoderate et

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And to Cast a Seuere Eve vpon the Example, but a

Mercifull Eye vpon the Perfon.

Secondly, for the Advocates and Counfell that Plead: Patience and Grauitie of Hearing, is an Effentiall Part of Iustice; And an Ouer-speaking Iudge is no well tuned Cymball.a It is no Grace to a *Iudge*, first to finde 10 that, which hee might have heard, 11 in due time, from the Barre; or to fhew Quickneffe of Conceit in Cutting off Euidence or Counfell too fhort; Or to preuent Information, by Ouestions though Pertinent. The Parts of a *Iudge* in Hearing are Foure: To direct the Euidence; To Moderate Length, 12 Repetition, or Impertinency of Speech; To Recapitulate, Select, and Collate, the Materiall Points of that, which hath beene faid; And to Giue the Rule 13 or Sentence. Whatfoeuer is aboue these, is too much; And proceedeth, Either of Glory and willingnesse to Speake; Or of Impatience to Heare, Or of Shortneffe of Memorie; Or of Want of a Staid and Equal Attention. It is a Strange Thing to fee, that the Boldneffe of Aduocates, should preuaile with *Iudges*; Whereas they should imitate God, in whose Seat they fit; who repreffeth the Prefumptuous, and giueth. Grace 14 to the Modest. But it is more Strange, that

Iudges should haue Noted Fauourites; 15 Which cannot but Caufe Multiplication of Fees, 16 and Sufpicion of By-waies. 17 There is due from the Iudge, to the Aduocate, fome Commendation and Gracing, where Caufes are well Handled, and faire Pleaded; Especially towards the Side which obtaineth not: For that vpholds, in

Ps. cl. 5. (Prayer Book version).James. iv. 6.

aperte favere, 'should immoderately and openly favour some advocates above the others.

¹⁶ Multiplication of Fees. Merces Advocatorum augeat et multiplicet, 'increases and multiplies the fees of advocates,'
17 By-waies. Corruptionis et obliqui ad Judices aditus, 'of corruption and byways to the judges.'

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the Client the reputation of his counfel, and beats down in him the conceit of his caufe. There is likewife due to the publike a ciuill reprehension of Aduocates, where there appeareth cunning counfell, groffe neglect, flight information, indifcreet preffing, or an overbold defence.

The place of Iustice is an hallowed place; and therefore not onely the bench, but the footepace and precincts and purprife thereof ought to bee preferued without fcandall and corruption. For certainely Grapes (as the Scripture faith) will not be gathered of thornes or thistles; neither can Iustice yeeld her fruit with sweetnesse, amongst the briers and brambles of chatching and poling Clearkes and Ministers. The attendance of Courts is subject to source bad inftruments; First, certaine persons that are sowers of fuits, which make the Court fwel, and the Country pine. The fecond fort is of those that ingage Courts in quarrels of Iurifdiction, and are not truly, Amici Curiæ, but Parafiti Curiæ, in puffing a Court vp beyond her bounds for their own fcrappes and aduantage. The third fort is of those that may bee accounted the left hands of Courts, perfons that are full of nimble and finister trickes and shiftes, whereby they peruert the plaine and direct courses of Courts, and

¹⁸ Let not the Counsel. Advocatus autem illud tribuat Judici, 'let the advocate moreover allow this to the judge.'
¹⁰ Halfe-Way. Mediæ, et nullatenus peroratæ, 'half-way and not heard

throughout.'

²⁰ Say. Conqueratur, 'complain.'

²¹ Heard. Ad plenum non auditas, 'not fully heard.'

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the Client, the Reputation of his Counfell, and beats downe, in him, the Conceit of his Caufe. There is likewise due to the Publique, a Civill Reprehension of Advocates, where there appeareth Cunning Counfel, Groffe Neglect, Slight Information, Indifcreet Preffing, or an Ouer-bold Defence. And let not the Counfell18 at the Barre, chop with the *Iudge*, nor winde himfelfe into the handling of the Caufe anew, after the Iudge hath Declared his Sentence: But on the other fide, Let not the *Iudge* meet the *Caufe* halfe Way; 19 Nor giue Occasion to the Partie to sav:20 His Counsell or

Proofes were not heard.21

Thirdly, for that that concerns Clerks, and Ministers. The Place of Iustice, is an Hallowed Place; And therefore, not only the Bench, but the Foot-pace, and Precincts, and Purprise 22 thereof, ought to be preserved without Scandall and Corruption. For certainly, Grapes, (as the Scripture faith) will not be gathered of Thornes or Thistles: a Neither can Iustice yeeld her Fruit with Sweetnesse, amongst the Briars and Brambles, of Catching and Poling 23 Clerkes and Ministers. The Attendance of Courts is fubiect to Foure bad Instruments. First, Certaine Persons, that are Sowers of Suits; which make the Court fwell, and the Country pine. The Second Sort is of those, that ingage Courts, in Quarrels of Iurifdiction, and are not truly Amici Curiæ, but Parafiti Curiæ; in puffing vp a Court beyond her Bounds, for their owne Scraps, and Aduantage. The Third Sort is of those, that may be accounted, the Left Hands of Courts; Perfons that are full of Nimble and Sinister²⁴ Trickes and Shifts, whereby they peruert the Plaine and Direct 25 Courses of Courts, and

Matt. vii. 16.
Not friends but parasites of the Court.

<sup>Purprise. Omitted in the Latin.
Poling. Lucris inhiantium, 'gaping for gain.'
Nimble and sinister. Omitted in the Latin.
Plaine and Direct. Legitimos, 'lawful.'</sup>

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bring iustice into oblike lines and labirinthes. And the fourth is the Poler and exacter of fees, which iustifies the common resemblance of the Courts of Iustice, to the bush, wherunto while the sheepe slies for defence in weather, hee is sure to lose part of his sleece. On the other side an ancient Clearke, skilfull in presidents, wary in proceeding, and vnderstanding in the businesse of the Court, is an excellent singer of a Court, and doth many times point the way to the Iudge himselfe.

Laftly,

· Iudges ought aboue al to remember the conclusion of the Roman twelue Tables; Salus populi fuprema lex, and to know that Lawes, except they bee in order to that ende are but things captious, and Oracles not well inspired. Therefore it is an happy thing in a State, when Kings and States doe often confult with Judges; and againe, when Judges doe often confult with the King and State: the one, when there is matter of Law intervenient in bufineffe of State; the other when there is fome confideration of State interuenient in matter of Lawe. For many times the thing deduced to Iudgement, may bee meum et tuum, when the reason and consequence thereof may trench to point of estate; I call matter of estate not only the parts of Soueraignty, whatfoeuer introduceth any great alteration or dangerous prefident or concerneth manifestly any great portion of people. And let no man weakely conceiue that iust lawes, and true pollicy, haue any antipathy. For they are like the spirits, and sinewes

²⁶ Parts of Souereignty. Quid ad Jura Regalia impelenda s/ecicl, 'what tends to attack royal rights'

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bring *Iuftice* into Oblique Lines and Labyrinths. And the Fourth is, the Poler and Exacter of Fees; which iuftifies the Common Refemblance of the *Courts* of *Iuftice*, to the *Bush*, whereunto while the Sheepe flies for defence in Wether, hee is fure to loofe Part of his Fleece. On the other fide, an *Ancient Clerke*, skilfull in Prefidents, Wary in Proceeding, and Vnderstanding in the *Businesse* of the *Court*, is an excellent Finger of a *Court*; And doth many times point the way to the

Iudge himfelfe.

Fourthly, for that which may concerne the Soueraigne and Estate. Iudges ought aboue all to remember the Conclusion of the Roman Twelue Tables; Salus Populi Suprema Lex; And to know, that Lawes, except they bee in Order to that End, are but Things Captious, and Oracles not well Inspired. Therefore it is an Happie Thing in a State, when Kings and States doe often Confult with Iudges; And againe, when Iudges doe often Confult with the King and State: The one. when there is Matter of Law, interuenient in Businesse of State; The other, when there is fome Confideration of State, interuenient in Matter of Law. For many times, the Things Deduced to Iudgement, may bee Meum and Tuum, when the Reason and Consequence thereof, may Trench to Point of Estate: I call Matter of Estate, not onely the parts of Soueraigntie,26 but whatfoeuer introduceth any Great²⁷ Alteration, or Dangerous prefident; Or Concerneth manifeftly any great Portion of People. And let no Man weakly conceiue, that Iust Laws, and True Policie, haue any Antipathie: For they are like the Spirits, and Sinewes,

[&]quot; Not the laws of the Twelve Tables, but Cicero. De Legibus. iii. 3. The welfare of the people is the highest law.

²⁷ Great. Minus tutam 'unsafe."

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that one moues with the other.

Neither ought Iudges to be so ignorant of their owneright, as to thinke there is not left to them as a principall part of their office, a wise vse and application of Lawes. For they may remember what the Apostle saith of a greater law then theirs, Nos scimus, quia lex bona est, modo quis ea vtatur legitime.



28 Right. Juris et Prerogativæ, 'right and prerogativæ.'
29 Theirs. Humanis legibus, 'human laws.'

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that One moues with the Other. Let *Iudges* also remember, that *Salomons Throne*, was supported by Lions, on both Sides; Let them be Lions, but yet Lions vnder the Throne; Being circumspect, that they doe not checke, or oppose any Points of *Soueraigntie*. Let not *Iudges* also, be so Ignorant of their owne Right, as to thinke, there is not lest to them, as a Principall Part of their Office, a Wise Vse, and application of Lawes. For they may remember, what the *Apostle* saith, of a Greater Law, then theirs; *Possible Scimus quia Lex bona est, modò quis eà vtatur Legitimè*, the said of the control o



b r Tim, i. 8 (Vulgate.)

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37. Of Daine-glorp.



was pretily deuised of Afop, The Flie fate upon the Axletree of the Chariot wheele, and faid, What a dust doe I raise? So there are fome vaine perfons, that whatfoeuer goeth

alone, or moues vpon greater meanes,

they thinke it is they that carry it. They that are glorious must needs be factious; for all brauery stands upon comparisons. They must needes be violent to make good their owne Neither can they bee fecret, and therefore not effectuall; but according to the French prouerb, Beaucoup de bruit et peu de fruit, Much bruit, little fruit. Yet certainely there is vie of this quality in ciuill affaires. Where there is an opinion and fame to bee created, either of Vertue or Greatnesse: these men are good Trumpeters. Again, as Titus Liuius noteth in the case of Antiochus and the Ætolians. There are fometimes greate effects of croffe lies; as if a man that should interpose himselfe to negotiate between two.

should to either of them seuerally pretend, more interest then he hath in the other. And in this and the like kind, it often fals out, that fomewhat is produced of nothing. For lies are fufficient to breed opinion, and opinion brings on

BE. Dariations in posthumous Latin Edition of 1638.

¹ Vaine. Futiles et Vani, 'worthless and vain.'
2 Carry it. Machinam totam vertere, 'turn the whole machine.'
3 Created. Fama excitanda sit, vel Opinio late spargenda, 'fame to be raised or opinion to be widely spread.'

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British Museum Copy.

54. Of Daine-Glory.

Γ was prettily Deuised of Æfope; The Fly fate vpon the Axle-tree of the Chariot wheele, and

faid. What a Dust doe I raife? So there are fome Vaine 1 Persons, that whatsoeuer goeth alone, or moueth vpon greater Means, if they have neuer fo little Hand in it, they thinke it is they that carry it.2 They that are Glorious, must needs be Factious: For all Brauery stands vpon Comparisons. They must needs be Violent, to make good their owne Neither can they be Secret, and therefore not Effectuall; but according to the French Prouerb; Beaucoup de Bruit, peu de Fruit: Much Bruit, little Fruit. Yet certainly there is Vse of this Qualitie, in Ciuill Affaires. Where there is an Opinion, and Fame to be created,3 either of Vertue, or Greatnesse, these Men are good Trumpetters. Againe, as Titus Liuius noteth, in the Case of Antiochus, and the Ætolians; There are functimes great Effects of Croffet Lies: As if a Man, that Negotiates between Two Princes, to draw them to iovne in a Warre against the Third, doth extoll the Forces

between Two Princes, to draw them to ioyne in a Warre against the Third, doth extoll the Forces of either of them, aboue Measure,⁵ the One to the Other: And sometimes, he that deales between Man and Man, raiseth his owne Credit, with Both, by pretending greater Interest, then he hath in Either. And in these, and the like Kindes, it often falls out, that Somewhat is produced of Nothing: For Lies are fufficient to breed Opinion, and Opinion brings on

^a Livy. xxxvii. 48.

¹ Crosse. Reciproca, et ex utraque parte, 'reciprocal and on both sides.'
⁵ Measure. Modum, et Veritatem, 'measure and truth.'

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fubstance.

But principally cases of great enterprise, vpon charge and aduenture fuch composition of glorious natures doth put life into busines, and those that are of folid and fober natures have more of the ballaft. then of the faile.

Certainely Vaine-glory helpeth to perpetuate a mans memory, and Vertue was neuer fo beholding to humane nature, as it receiued his due at the fecond hand. Neither had the fame of Cicero, Scneea, Plinius Secundus, borne her age fo well, if it had not beene joined with fome vanity in themselues; like vnto varnish, that makes feelings not onely shine, but last. But all this while, when I speake of Vaine-glory, I meane not of that property that Tacitus doth attribute to Mucianus, Omnium quæ dixerat feceratque arte quadam ostentator. For that proceedes not of vanity, but of a natural magnanimity and discretion; and in some perfons is not onely comely, but gracious. For exusations, cessions, modesty it selfe well

⁶ Substance. Rem et Substantiam, 'matter and substance.'
7 Sharpeneth. Acuuntur, et excitantur, 'sharpen and stir up.'
8 Learning. Doctrinae et Literarum, 'learning and literature.'
9 The Flight will be slow. Non volitabit Fama illius per Ora Virum, neque bene Alata erit, 'the fame thereof will not fly through the mouths of men, nor will it be well winged.'
10 After Galen. (Magna Nomina,) '(great names.)'
11 Perpetuate. Propagandam et perpetuandam, 'spread and perpetuate.'
12 And Vertue . Second Hand. Neque Virtus ipsa, tantum Humanae Natura debet, propter Nominis sui Celebrationem, quantum sibiipsi, 'nor does virtue itself owe as much to human nature for the celebration of its name as to itself.' bration of its name as to itself.'

¹³ Borne her Age. Ad hunc usque diem vix durasset, aut saltem non tam vegeta, 'would not have lasted till this time, or at least, not so fresh.'

Substance.⁶ In Militar[y] Commanders and Soldiers, Vaine-Glory is an Effentiall Point; For as Iron fharpens Iron, fo by Glory one Courage sharpneth7 another. In Cases of great Enterprise, vpon Charge and Aduenture, a Composition of Glorious Natures, doth put life into Bufineffe: And those that are of Solide and Sober Natures, have more of the Ballaft, then of the Saile. In Fame of Learning,8 the Flight will be flow9, without some Feathers of Oftentation. Oui de contemnendà Gloria Libros fcribunt, Nomen fuum infcribunt.ª Socrates, Aristotle, Galen, 10 were Men full of Ostentation. Certainely Vaine-Glory helpeth to Perpetuate¹¹ a Mans Memory; And Vertue was neuer so Beholding to Humane Nature, as it receiued his due at the Second Hand. 12 Neither had the Fame of Cicero, Seneca, Plinius Secundus, borne her Age¹³ fo well, if it had not been iovned, with some Vanity14 in themselues: Like vnto Varnish, that makes Seelings¹⁵ not onely Shine, but Last. But all this while, when I fpeake of Vaine-Glory, I meane not of that Property, that Tacitus doth attribute to Mucianus; Omnium, quæ dixerat, teceratque, Arte quadam Ostentator: b For that proceeds not of Vanity, but of Naturall¹⁶ Magnanimity, and difcretion: ¹⁷ And in fome Perfons, 18 is not onely Comely, but Gracious. For Excufations. 19 Ceffions. 20 Modesty it felfe well Go-

a Those who write works in contempt of glory, put their own names to the books. Cicero. Tusculan Disputations. i. 15.

b The manifestor, by a certain art, of all things that he had said and done. Tacitus. History. ii. 80.

¹⁴ Vanity. Vanitate et Jactantia, 'vanity and boastfulness.'
15 Seelings. Ligna, 'wood-work.'
16 Naturall. Omitted in the Latin.
17 Discretion. Arte et prudentia, 'art and wisdom.'
18 After Persons. Qui natura veluti comparati ad eam sunt, 'who are fitted for this by nature.'

¹⁹ Excusations. Excusationes decoræ, 'comely excusations.' 20 Cessions. Concessiones tempestivæ, 'timely cessions.'

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uerned are but arts of oftentation; and amongst those Arts there is none better, then that which Plinius Secundus speaketh of, which is to be liberall of praise and commendation to others, in that wherein a mans felfe hath any perfection. For faith Plinie very wittily; In commending another, you do your felfe right; for hee that you commend, is either fuperior to you in that you commend, or inferiour. If he be inferiour if he be to be commended; you much more: if he be superiour if hee be not commended; you much leffe.



²¹ Liberall. Liberaliter et copiose, 'liberally and abundantis.'
22 Commendation. Omitted in the Latin.
23 In that you Commend. Omitted in the Latin.
24 Idols. Prædæ et Escæ, 'booty and baits.'

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uerned, are but Arts of Oftentation. And amongst those Arts, there is none better, then that which Plinius Secundus speaketh of; which is to be Liberall²¹ of Praise and Commendation²² to others, in that, wherein a Mans Selfe hath any Persection. For saith Pliny very Wittily; In commending Another, you doe your felse right; For he that you Commend, is either Superiour to you, in that you Commend, or Inseriour. If he be Inseriour, if he be to be Commended, you much more: If he be Superiour, if he be not to be commended, you much lesse. Glorious Men are the Scorne of Wise Men; the Admiration of Fooles; The Idols²⁴ of Parasites; And the Slaues of their own Vaunts.²⁵



a Pliny. Epistles. vi. 17.

²⁵ Their own Vaunts. Sibilpsis et Gloria vana, themselves and their vain glory.'

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38. Of the greatnesse of Kingdomes.

He speech of *Themistocles*, was arrogant in challenge,

which

is profitable in censure.

Defired at a banquet to touch a Lute, hee faid, He could not fiddle; but he could make a fmall Towne to become a great Citie. This fpeech at a time of folace, and not ferious, was vnciuill, and at no time could be decent of a mans felfe. But it may have a pretie application: For to fpeake truly of politikes and Statefmen, there are fometimes, though rarely, those that can make a fmall estate great, and cannot fiddell. And there bee

many that can fiddell very cunningly, and yet

the procedure of their Art is

to make a

flourishing estate ruinous and distressed. For certainly those degenerate Arts, whereby divers politikes and Gouernors doe gaine both satisfaction with their Masters, and admiration with the vulgar, deserve no better name then fidling;

if they adde nothing to the fafetie, ftrength, and amplitude of the States they gouerne.

FI. Fariations in posthumous Latin Edition of 1638.

^a Expresse. Optime describunt, et distinguint, 'well describe and

¹ Title. De Proferendis Finibus Imperii, 'of extending the bounds of empire.'
² Metaphore. Ad Sensum politicam translata, 'transferred to a political

efine.'
4 Estate. Rerum Gubernacula tractant, 'who manage the helm of a fairs.'

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British Museum Copy.

29. Of the true Greatnesse of Ringdomes and Estates.1

He Speech of Themistocles the Athenian, which was Haughtie and Arrogant, in taking fo much to Himfelfe, had been a Graue and Wife Observation and Censure, applied at

large to others. Defired at a Feast to touch a Lute, he faid; He could not fiddle, but yet he could make a fmall Towne, a great Citty.a These Words (holpen a little with a Metaphore)² may expresse³ two differing Abilities, in those that deale in Businesse of Estate.⁴ For if a true Suruey be taken, of Counfellours⁵ and Statesmen, there may be found (though rarely) those, which can make an Small State Great, and yet cannot Fiddle: As on the other fide, there will be found a great many, that can fiddle very cunningly,7 but vet are fo farre from being able, to make a Small State Great, as their Gift lieth the other way: To bring a Great and Flourishing Estate to Ruine and Decay. And certainly, those Degenerate Arts and Shifts, whereby many Counfellours and Gouernours, gaine both Fauour with their Masters, and Estimation with the Vulgar, deferue no better Name then Fidling; Being Things, rather pleasing for the time, and gracefull to themselves onely, then tending8 to the Weale and Aduancement of the State, which they ferue. There are also (no doubt) Counsellours and Gouernours, which may be held fufficient, (Negotijs pares,) Able to mannage Affaires, and to keepe them from Precipices.

a Plutarch. Themistocles, ii. Cimon. 7.

Counsellours. Regum Consiliarios, Senatores, aliosque ad Negotia publica admotos, qui usquam fuerunt, 'councillors of kings, senators, and others applied to public business, who have lived anywhere.'
 State. Regnum ant Civiliatem, 'kingdom or state.'
 Cunningly. In Cythara, ant Lyra (lice est Aulicis tricis) miri Artifices, 'wonderful players on the lute or lyre (that is, in court tricks)
 Tending. Utiles, aut Accommodæ, 'profitable or fit.'

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The greatnes of a State in bulke or territory, doth fall vnder measure; and the greatnes of finances and reuenew, doth fall vnder computation: the population may appeare by Musters, and the number and greatnesse of Cities and Towns by Carts and Mappes: but yet there is nothing among civill affaires more fubiect to error, then the right valuacion and true judgement concerning the greatnes of an estate. Certainly there is a kind of refemblance betweene the Kingdome of heauen, and the Kingdomes vpon the earth. The Kingdome of heauen is compared not to any great kernell, or nut; but to a graine of Musterd; which is one of the least of graines, but hath in it a propertie and spirit hastily to get vp and spread. So are there States that are great in Territory, and yet not apt to conquer or inlarge: and others that have but a small dimention or stemme, and vet apt to be the foundation of great Monarchies.

9 Power, Meanes, and Fortune. Omitted in the Latin.

¹⁰ Meanes. Quibus Artibus obtineri possit, 'by what means it can be obtained.

btained.'

11 Great and Mightie. Omitted in the Latin.

12 After Hand. Et diligenter meditentur, 'and carefully to consider.

13 Leese. Implicent, 'involve.'

14 Vaine. Vanis et nimis Ardnis, 'vain and too difficult.'

15 Finances. Omitted in the Latin.

16 Iudgment. Omitted in the Latin.

17 Nut. Nuci alicui grandiori, 'any large nut.'

18 Spread. Latius diffundat, 'spread widely.'

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and manifest Inconveniences; which neverthelesse, are farre from the Abilitie, to raife and Amplifie an Estate. in Power. Meanes, and Fortune.9 But be the workemen what they may be, let vs fpeake of the Worke; That is; The true Greatneffe of Kingdomes and Estates: and the Meanes 10 thereof. An Argument, fit for Great and Mightie¹¹ Princes, to haue in their hand; 12 To the end, that neither by Ouer-meafuring their Forces, they leefe 13 themselues in vaine 14 Enterprifes; Nor on the other fide, by vnderualuing them.

they descend to Fearefull and Pusillanimous Counsells. The Greatnesse of an Estate in Bulke and Territorie. doth fall vnder Measure; And the Greatneffe of Finances 15 and Reuenew doth fall vnder Computation. The Population may appeare by Musters: And the Number and Greatnesse of Cities and Townes, by Cards and Maps. But yet there is not any Thing amongst Civill Affaires, more subject to Errour, then the right valuation, and true Iudgement, 16 concerning

the Power and Forces of an Effate.

The Kingdome of Heaven

is compared, not to any great Kernell or Nut, 17 but to a Graine of Mustard-feed; which is one of the least Graines. but hath in it a Propertie and Spirit, hastily to get vp and fpread. 18 So are there States, 19 great in Territorie, 20 and yet not apt to Enlarge, 21 or Command; 22 And fome, that have but a fmall Dimension of Stemme. 23 and yet apt to be the Foundations of Great Monarchies.24

a Matt. xiii. 31.

States. Regna et status, 'kingdoms and states.'
 Territorie. Ambitu quidem et Regionum Tractu, 'in circumference and extent of country.

²¹ Enlarge. Ad Fines ulterius proferendos, 'to extend their boundaries further.

²² Command. Latius imperandum, 'command more widely.'
23 Of Stemme. Omitted in the Latin.
24 Of Great Monarchies. In quibus maxima Monarchia inadificentur,
'on which great monarchies can be built.'

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Walled Towns, flored Arcenals and Armories, goodly Stables, Elephants (if you wil) Masse of treasure, Number in Armies, Ordinance, and Artillerie, they are all but a Sheep in a Lions skin, except the breed and disposition of the people be militarie.

 ²⁵ Armouries. Omitted in the Latin.
 26 Ordnance, Artillery. Machinæ atyue Tormenta Bellica omnigene.
 31l kinds of military machines and engines.
 27 Weake Courage. Imbelles, et ignavi, 'unwarlike and slothful.'
 28 Sea of People. Oculis Macedonum, tanquam vastum Hominum Pelagns, subjictebatur,' lay before the eyes of the Macedonians like a vast sea

of people.'
23 Easie. Opinione facilior, 'easier than he thought.'

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Walled Townes, Stored Arcenalls and Armouries.²⁵ Goodly Races of Horfe, Chariots of Warre, Elephants, Ordnance, Artillery, 26 and the like: All this is but a Sheep in a Lions Skin, except the Breed and disposition of the People, be flout and warlike. Nay Number (it felfe) in Armies, importeth not much, where the People is of weake Courage: 27 For (as Virgil faith) It neuer troubles a Wolfe, how many the sheepe be. The Armie of the Perfians, in the Plaines of Arbela, was fuch a vast Sea of People, 28 as it did somewhat astonish the Commanders in Alexanders Armie: Who came to him therefore, and wisht him, to set vpon them by Night; But hee answered, He would not pilfer the Victory.b And the Defeat was Easie. 29 When Tigranes the Armenian, being incamped vpon a Hill, with 400000. Men, discouered the Armie of the Romans, being not aboue 14000. Marching towards him, he made himfelfe Merry with it, and faid; Yonder Men, are too Many for an Ambaffage, and too Few for a Fight. But before the Sunne fett, he found them enough, to give him the Chace, with infinite Slaughter. Many are the Examples, of the great oddes between Number and Courage: So that a Man may truly make a Judgement; 30 That the Principal Point of *Greatneffe*³¹ in any *State*, is to haue a Race of Military Men.³² Neither is Money the Sinewes of Warre, (as it is triuially faid) 38 where the Sinewes of Mens Armes, in Base and Effeminate People, are failing. For Solon faid well to Crafus (when in Oftentation he shewed him his Gold) Sir, if

a Virgil. Bucolics. vii. 52.

b Plutarch. Alexander. xxxi.

³⁰ Sothat a Man.... a Iudgement. Prorecertissima, et exploratissima decernatur, et statuatur; 'it may be determined and set down as a most certain and ascertained fact.'

certain and ascertained fact.

31 Of Greatnesse. Omnium, quæ ad Magnitudinem Regni aut status spectent, 'of all things which belong to the greatness of a kingdom or state.'

32 Race of Military Men. Ut populus ipse sit stirpe et Ingenio bellicosus, 'that the people themselves should be warlike in race and disposition.'

33 Neither is . . (as it is triuially said). Atque illud magis tritum, quam verum, 'and that is more trite than true.'

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The helpe is mercenary aides. But a Prince or State that resteth vpon waged Companies of forraine Armes. and not of his owne Natiues, may spread his feathers for a time, but he will mew them foone after.

The bleffing of *Iudah* and *Iffachar* will neuer meet, to be both the Lions whelpe, and the Affe laid betweene burthens: Neither will a people ouer charged with tributes, bee euer fit for Empire.

Nobilitie and Gentlemen multiplying in too great a proportion, maketh the common fubiect grow to bee a

³⁴ Except his Militia of Natiues. Cajus subditi Nativi et Indigence, non sunt, 'whose natural and native subjects are not.'
35 In this Case. Cum Copiæ Nativæ desint, 'when native forces fail.'
36 Or Prince. Omitted in the Latin.
37 Feathers. Pennas, Nido majores, 'wings beyond his nest.'
38 Abate. Dejicere, et deprimere, quam quæ ex Imperio mero indicuntur, ''cast down and depress less than those which are imposed by a mere command.

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any Other come, that hath better Iron then you, he will be Master of all this Gold.a Therfore let any Prince or State, thinke foberly of his Forces, except his Militia of Natiues, 34 be of good and Valiant Soldiers. And let Princes, on the other fide, that have Subjects of Martiall difposition, know their owne Strength; vnleffe they be otherwife wanting vnto Themfelues. for Mercenary Forces, (which is the Helpe in this Cafe) 35 all Examples flew; That whatfoeuer Estate or Prince 36 doth rest vpon them; Hee may spread his Feathers 37

for a time, but he will mew them foone after.

The Blessing of Iudah and Isfachar will never meet: That the same People or Nation, should be both The Lions whelpe, and the Affe betweene Burthens: b Neither will it be, that a People ouer-laid with Taxes, should euer become Valiant, and Martiall. It is true, that Taxes leuied by Confent of the Estate, doe abate 38 Mens Courage leffe; As it hath beene feene notably, in the Excises of the Low Countries; And in some degree, in the Subfidies of England. For you must note, that we fpeake now, of the Heart, and not of the Purfe. that, although the same Tribute and Tax, 39 laid by Confent, or by Imposing, be all one to the Purse, 40 yet it workes diverfly vpon the Courage.41 So that you may conclude; That no People, ouer-charged with Tribute, is fit for Empire,

Let States 42 that aime at Greatneffe, take heed how their Nobility 43 and Gentlemen, doe multiply too fast. For that maketh the Common Subject, grow to be a

[&]quot; Lucian, Charon.

b Gen. xlix. 9, 14.

³⁹ The same Tribute and Tax. Tributa, 'tributes.'

⁴⁰ To the Purse. Quoad Opes exhauriendas, 'as to the exhaustion of wealth.'

 ⁴¹ Courage. Animos Subditorum, 'courage of the subjects.'
 42 States. Regnis et Statibus, 'kingdoms and states.'
 43 Nobility. Nobiles et Patricii, atque (quos vocamus) Generosi, 'nobles and patricians, and those we call gentlemen.'

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pefant and base swaine driven out of heart, and but the Gentlemans laborer:

like as it is in copices, where if you leave your fladdels too thick, you shal neuer haue cleane vnderwood, but thrubbes and buthes.

And take away the middle people, and you take away the infantery, which is the nerue of an Armie: and you bring it to this, that not the hundreth pole will be fit for a helmet, and fo great population and little strength.

Certainely Virgil coupled Armes and the Plough together well in the constitution of ancient Italy;

Terra potens armis atque vbere glebæ: For it is the Plough that yeeldeth the best fouldier;

45 Driven out of Heart. Omitted in the Latin.
46 Labourer. Nobilium Mancipia et Operarii, 'the nobles' slaves and

⁴⁴ A Peasant and base Swaine. Humilis et abjecta, 'low and base.'

labourers.'

⁴⁷ Staddles. Caudicum, sive Arborum majorum, 'trunks or greater trees.'
48 Cleane. Sincera et pura, 'sound and clean.'
49 But Shrubs and Bushes. Sed major pars in Vepres et Dumos degenerabit, 'but the greater part will degenerate into shrubs and bushes.'
50 Base. Vilis and ig ava, 'base and sluggish.'
51 Poll. Caput, 'head.'
52 Nerue. Robus descioum 'chief strangh'

Nerue. Robus precipium, 'chief strength.'
 Nerue. Robus precipium, 'chief strength.'
 After Ouermatch. Fere semper in Bellis, 'almost always in war.'
 Middle People. Coloni, et inferio. is Ordines Homines, 'farmers and men of the lower order.'

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Peafant, and Base Swaine,44 driven out of Heart,45 and in effect but the Gentlemans Labourer. 46 Euen as you may fee in Coppice Woods; If you leave your staddles 47 too thick, you shall never have cleane48 Vnderwood, but Shrubs and Bushes. 49 So in Countries, if the Gentlemen be too many, the Commons will be base; 50 And you will bring it to that, that not the hundred poll,⁵¹ will be fit for an Helmet: Especially as to the Infantery, which is the Nerue⁵² of an Army: And fo there will be Great Population, and Little Strength. This, which I fpeake of, hath been no where better feen, then by comparing of England and France; whereof England, though farre leffe in Territory and Population, hath been (neuerthelesse) an Ouermatch; 58 In regard, the Middle People⁵⁴ of England, make good Souldiers, which the Peafants of France doe not. And herein, the deuice of King Henry the Seuenth, (whereof I haue spoken largely in the History of his Life) was Profound,55 and Admirable; In making Farmes, 56 and houses of Husbandry, of a Standard; That is, maintained with fuch a Proportion of Land vnto them, as may breed a Subject, to liue in Conuenient Plenty, and no Seruile Condition;⁵⁷ And to keepe the Plough in the Hands of the Owners, and not meere Hirelings. 58 And thus indeed, you shall attaine to Virgils Character, which he giues to Ancient Italy.

-Terra potens Armis atque vbere Glebæ.a Neither is that State (which for any thing I know, is

a A land powerful in arms and fruitful of soil. Eneid. i. 531.

⁵⁵ Profound. Profunda prudentia excogitatum, 'devised with profound wisdom.

wisdom.

56 Farmes. Prædia minora, 'smaller farms.'

57 Standard. Sernile Condition. Quæ habeant certum, eumque Mediocrem Agri Modum annexum, qui distrahi non possit; Eo fine, ut ad Victum liberaliorem sufficiat, 'which should have a certain and moderate annount of land annexed to them, which might not be divided, that it might suffice for liberal living.'

⁵⁸ And to keepe. . Hirelings. Utque Agricultura ab iis exerceretur, qui Donini fuerint Fundi, aut saltem Usu-fructuarii, non Conductitii, aut Mercenarii, 'so that husbandry might be exercised by the owners, or at least holders of the farm, and not by hired or paid men.'

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but how? maintained in plentie and in the hand of owners, and not of meere laborers.

The germ of the entire paragraph on the opposite page, -from By all meanes down to published, appeareth. on p. 481-will be found on p. 492.]

⁵⁹ Free Seruants . . . Noblemen and Gentlemen. Famuli sciliect Nobilium, 'I mean the servants of noblemen.'
60 Armes. Peditatum, 'infantry.'
61 After Hospitality. Atque Famulitia, 'and household servants.'
62 Close. Obscura, et magis privata, 'obscure and more private.'
63 Liberall of. Facile et liberater largiuntur, 'easily and freely bestow.'
64 Empire. Imperii Magnitudinem, 'greatness of empire.'
65 Embrace. Imperii Yugo cohibere and france, 'hold and govern ly
the yoke of empire.'
66 It will faile suddainly. Diuturnitatem has ves non assequitur, 'tots
will not have long duration.'

will not have long duration.

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almost peculiar to *England*, and hardly to be found any where else, except it be perhaps in *Poland*) to be passed ouer; I meane the State of *Free Servants* and *Attendants* vpon *Noblemen* and *Gentlemen*; ⁵⁹ which are no waies inferiour, vnto the *Yeomanry*, for Armes. ⁶⁰ And therefore, out of all Question, the Splendour, and Magnificence, and great Retinues, and Hospitality ⁶¹ of *Noblemen*, and *Gentlemen*, received into Custome, doth much conduce, vnto *Martiall Greatnesse*. Whereas, contrariwise, the Close ⁶² and Reserved living, of *Noblemen*, and *Gentlemen*, causeth a Penury of *Military Forces*.

By all meanes, it is to be procured, that the Trunck of Nebuchadnezzars Tree of Monarchy, be great enough, to beare the Branches, and the Boughes; That is, That the Naturall Subjects of the Crowne or State, beare a fufficient Proportion, to the Stranger Subiects, that they gouerne. Therfore all States, that are liberall of 63 Naturalization towards Strangers, are fit for Empire.64 For to thinke, that an Handfull of People, can, with the greatest Courage, and Policy in the World, embrace 65 too large Extent of Dominion, it may hold for a time, but it will faile fuddainly.66 The Spartans were a nice 67 People, in Point of Naturalization; 68 whereby, while they kept their Compaffe, 69 they flood firme; 70 But when they did fpread, and their Boughs were becommen too great, for their Stem, they became a Windfall vpon the fuddaine.71 Neuer

⁶⁷ Nice. Parci and difficiles, 'sparing and difficult.'

⁶⁸ Naturalization. In cooptandis novis Civibus, 'in receiving new citizens.' 69 Compasse. Intra-parvos Limites dominati sunt, 'ruled within small boundaries.'

⁷⁰ Firme. Res eorum firmæ fuerunt, et stabiles, 'their affairs were firm and stable.'

⁷¹ But when they did spread . . . suddaine. At postquam Limites suos capissent proferre, et latius dominari, quam ut Stirps Spartanorum, Turbam Exterorum, Imperio commode coercere posset, Potentia eorum corruit, 'but when they began to extend their bounds, and to rule so widely, that the Spartan race could not easily govern the crowd of foreigners, their power fell to pieces.'

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The germ of the paffage on the opposite page will be tound at p. 492.]

Sedentary and within-doores

72 Romans. Respublica Romana, 'the Roman Republic.
73 It sorted with them accordingly. Par erat, Instituto tam prudenti,
Fortuna, 'their fortune sorted with this wise ordinance.'
74 Greatest. Toto Orbe amplissumum, 'greatest in the whole world.'
75 Honorum. Petitionis sive Honorum, 'right of holding office.'
76 Nations. Integris Nationibus, 'entire nations.'
77 Greatnesse. Proferendi imperii, 'extending empire.'
78 Dominions. Regna et Provincias, 'kingdoms and provinces.'
79 Whole Compasse of Spaine. Vispania ipsa, 'Spain itself.'

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any State was, in this Point, fo open to receive Strangers, into their Body, as were the Romans. 72 Therefore it forted with them accordingly; 78 For they grew to the greatest 74 Monarchy. Their manner was, to grant Naturalization, (which they called Ius Ciuitatis) and to grant it in the highest Degree; That is, Not onely Ius Commercij, Ius Connubij, Ius Hareditatis; But also, Ius Suffragij, and Ius Honorum. 75 And this, not to Singular Persons alone, but likewise to whole Families; yea to Cities, and fometimes to Nations. 76 Adde to this, their Custome of Plantation of Colonies; whereby the Roman Plant, was removed into the Soile, of other Nations. And putting both Constitutions together, you will fay, that it was not the Romans that fpred vpon the World; But it was the World, that spred vpon the Romans: And that was the sure Way of Greatnesse. I have marueiled sometimes at Spaine, how they claspe and containe so large Dominions, 78 with fo few Naturall Spaniards: But fure, the whole Compasse of Spaine, 79 is a very Great Body of a Tree; Farre aboue 80 Rome, Sparta, at the first. And besides, though they have not had that vsage, to Naturalize liberally; yet they have that, which is next to it; That is, To employ, almost indifferently, all Nations, in their Militia of ordinary Soldiers: yea, and fometimes in their Highest Commands. 81 Nav. it feemeth at this inftant, they are fenfible of this want of Natiues; 82 as by the Pragmaticall Sanction, now 83 published, appeareth.

It is certaine, that Sedentary, and Within-doore84

⁸⁰ Far aboue. Cum longe ampliorem contineant Regionum Tractum

Far aboue. Cum longe ampliorem contineant Regionum Tractum quam, 'as it contains a much larger extent of countries, than.
 And... commands. Quinetiam, summum Belli Imperium, haud raro, ad Duces, Natione non Hispanos, deferunt, 'nay also, they not seldom entrust the chief command of a war to generals not Spaniards by birth.'
 After Natiues. Eique succurrere cupiisse, 'and desire to remedy it.'
 Now. Hoc anno, 'in this year.'
 Within-doore. Qua non sub Dio, sed sub Tecto exercentur, 'which are practised not in the open air, but in a house.'

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Arts. and nice manufactures, that require rather the finger then the hand or arme, haue in their nature a contrariety to a disposition militar[y]: and generally, all warlike people are a little idle, and loue danger better then pain: neither must they be too much broken of it, if they shall be preserved in vigor.

90 That. Mancipiorum usus, 'the use of slaves.'

⁸⁵ Arts. Artes Mechanicas, 'mechanical arts.'
86 Idle. Feriari gaudent, 'enjoy being idle.'
87 They. Animos ipsorum, 'their spirits.'
88 Slaues. Non Ingenuos, sed Servos, 'not freeborn but slaves.'
89 Did rid. Quorum Laboribus . . expediebantur, 'by whose toil
were despatched.'

⁹¹ By the Christian Law. Post legem Christianam receptam, 'since the Christian law has been received.'

⁹² For that purpose. Propterea alliciendi, aut, 'for that purpose to be invited, or.'

V.

Arts, 85 and delicate Manufactures (that require rather the Finger, then the Arme) haue, in their Nature, a Contrariety, to a Military disposition. And generally, all Warlike People, are a little idle;86 And loue Danger better then Trauaile; Neither must they be too much broken of it, if they⁸⁷ shall be preserved in vigour. Therefore, it was great Aduantage, in the Ancient States of Sparta, Athens, Rome, and others, that they had the vie of Slaues, 88 which commonly did rid 89 those Manufactures. But that 90 is abolished, in greatest part, by the Christian Law.91 That which commeth nearest to it, is, to leave those Arts chiefly to Strangers, (which for that purpose 92 are the more eafily to be received) and to containe, the principall Bulke⁹³ of the vulgar Natiues, within those three kinds. Tillers of the Ground; Free Servants; and Handy-Crafts-Men, of Strong, and Manly Arts, 94 as Smiths, Masons, Carpenters, &c; Not reckoning Professed Souldiers.

But aboue all, for Empire and Greatneffe, 95 it importeth most: That a Nation doe professe Armes, as their principall Honour, Study, and Occupation. 96 For the Things, which we formerly have spoken of, are but Habilitations towards Armes: And what is Habilitation without Intention and AET? Romulus. after his death (as they report, or faigne) fent a Prefent to the Romans; That, aboue all, they should intend Armes; And then, they should proue the greatest Empire 97 of the World. The Fabrick 98 of the State

Principall Bulke. Plebs, 'commonalty.'
 Manly Arts. Quorum Opera Robur et Lacertos viriles postulant, 'whose work demands strength and manly arms.'

⁹⁵ Empire and Greatnesse. Imperii Magnitudinem, 'greatness of Empire.

Empire.'

96 Study and Occupation. Institutum Vitæ primarium, et in præcipuo
Honore habitum, 'their principal mode of life and held in the highest honour.'

97 Greatest Empire. In Caput Orbis Terrarum Urbs eorum insurgeret.

48 Fabrick. Fabrica universa, 'the whole fabric.'

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99 After End. Ut Cives sui Belligeratores essent, 'that their citizens should be warriors.'

¹⁰⁰ Flesh. Idem erat Institutum, sed non tam constans aut diuturnum.

^{&#}x27;had the same custom, but not so constantly nor so long.'

101 Turks. Lege sua paululum extimulati, 'urged on a little by their law.'

102 Haue it. Illud adiuc retinet at profitetur, 'still retain and profess it.'

103 Plaine. Liquida, et manifesta, 'clear and plain.'

104 Intendeth. In quo plurimum impendit Studii, 'in the study which he most considers.'

¹⁰⁵ It needeth not to be Stood vpon. Verbis non indigeat, 'does not need words.

of Sparta, was wholly (though not wifely) framed, and composed, to that Scope and End. 99 The Persians and Macedonians, had it for a flash. 100 The Galls, Germans, Goths, Saxons, Normans, and others, had it for a Time. The Turks 101 have it, at this day, though in great Declination. Of Christian Europe, they that haue it, 102 are, in effect, onely the Spaniards. But it is fo plaine, 103 That every Man profiteth in that hee most intendeth. 104 that it needeth not to be flood vpon. 105 It is enough to point at it; That no Nation, which doth not directly professe Armes, 106 may looke to haue Greatnesse fall into their Mouths, 107 And, on the other fide, it is a most Certaine Oracle of Time; That those States, that continue long in that Profession 108 (as the Romans and Turks principally haue done) do wonders. 109 And those, that have professed Armes 110 but for an Age, have notwithstanding, commonly, attained that Greatneffe in that Age, which maintained them long after, when their Profession and Exercife¹¹¹ of Armes hath growen to decay.

Incident to this Point is; For a State, to have those Lawes or Customes, which may reach forth vnto them, iust Occasions (as may be pretended) of Warre. For there is that Iustice¹¹² imprinted, in the Nature of Men, that they enter not vpon Wars (whereof fo many Calamities doe enfue) but vpon fome, at the leaft Specious, 113 Grounds and Quarells. The Turke, hath

¹⁰⁶ Armes. Arma et Militiam, iisque præcipue studeat et incumbat, 106 Armes. Arma et Mittiam, tisque pracipue stuaeat et incumoat, 'arms and warfare, and principally studies and pays attention thereto.'
 107 Greatnesse fall into their Mouths. Insignem aliqum Imperii Magnitudinem, 'any remarkable greatness of empire.'
 108 Profession. Professione et studiis, 'profession and study.'
 109 Wonders. Miros in Imperio amplificando facere Progressus, 'make

wonderful progress in increasing their empire.'

110 Professed Armes. Bellica Gloria floruere, 'flourished by warlike

glory.'
111 Profession and Exercise. Disciplina, 'training.'
112 Instice. Justitla Apprehensio, 'understanding of justice.'
113 At the least Specious. Gravem ob Caussam, saltem speciosam, 'for a serious ground or at least a specious one.'

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No body can be healthfull without exercife, neither naturall body, nor politike; and to the politike body of a Kingdome or estate,

a ciuill warre is as the heate of a feuer; but an honourable forraine warre is like

¹¹⁴ Sit. Torpeat, aut tardet, 'be sluggish or slow.'
115 Aids. Omitted in the Latin.

at hand, for Cause of Warre, the Propagation of his Law or Sect; A Quarell that he may alwaies Command. The Romans, though they esteemed, the Extending the Limits of their Empire, to be Great Honour to their Generalls, when it was done, yet they neuer rested vpon that alone, to begin a Warre. First therefore, let Nations, that pretend to Greatnesse, haue this; That they be fensible of Wrongs, either vpon Borderers, Merchants, or Politique Ministers; And that they fit¹¹⁴ not too long vpon a Prouocation. Secondly, let them be prest, and ready, to give Aids 115 and Succours, to their Confederates: As it euer was with the Romans: In fo much, as if the Confederate. had Leagues Defensive with divers other States, and vpon Inuation offered, did implore their Aides feuerally, yet the Romans would ever bee the formost, and leaue it to none Other to haue the Honour. As for the Warres, which were anciently made, on the behalfe, of a kinde of Partie, or tacite Conformite of Estate, I doe not see how they may be well iustified: As when the Romans made a Warre for the Libertie of Grecia: Or when the Lacedemonians, and Athenians, made Warres, to fet vp or pull downe Democracies, and Oligarchies: Or when Warres were made by Forrainers, 116 vnder the pretence of Iustice, 117 or Protection, to deliuer the Subjects of others, from Tyrannie, and Oppression; And the like. 118 Let it suffice, That no Estate expect to be Great, that is not awake, vpon any just Occasion of Arming.

No Body can be healthfull without Exercise, neither Naturall Body, nor Politique: And certainly, to a Kingdome or Estate, a Just and Honourable Warre, is the true Exercise. A Civill Warre, indeed, is like the Heat of a Feauer; But a Forraine Warre, is like

¹¹⁶ Forrainers. Rebuspublicis aut Principibus, * states or princes.'
117 Iustice. Omitted in the Latin.
118 Oppression; And the like. Omitted in the Latin.

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the heate of exercife. At least, discoueries, nauigations, honourable fuccours of other States may keepe health: For in a flothfull peace, both courages will effeminate, and maners corrupt.

¹¹⁹ Slothfull. Deside aique torpente, 'Slothful and torpid.'
120 Tired out. Delassasset, et attrivisset, 'tired and worn out.'
121 See. Ex multis Exemplis patet, 'is clear from many examples.'
122 Arrested the greatnesse of the Turke. Circulum in Naribus Turka
possuit, 'put a ring in the nose of the Turk.'
123 Princes or States. Omitted in the Latin.

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the Heat of Exercise,

and ferueth to keepe the Body in Health: For in a Slothfull¹¹⁹ Peace, both Courages will effeminate, and Manners Corrupt. But howfoeuer it be for Happineffe, without all Question, for *Greatneffe*, it maketh, to bee still, for the most Part, in Armes: And the Strength of a Veteran Armie, (though it be a chargeable Businesse) alwaies on Foot, is that, which commonly giueth the Law; Or at least the Reputation amongst all Neighbour States; As may well bee seene in *Spaine*; which hath had, in one Part or other, a Veteran Armie, almost continually, now by

the space of Six-score yeeres.

To be Master of the Sea, is an Abridgement of a Monarchy, Cicero writing to Atticus, of Pompey his Preparation against Cafar, saith; Confilium Pompeij plane Themistocleum est: Putat enim, qui Mari potitur, eum Rerum potiri.a And, without doubt, Pompey had tired out120 Cæfar, if vpon vaine Confidence, he had not left that Way. We fee 121 the great Effects of Battailes by Sea. The Battaile of Actium decided the Empire of the World. The Battaile of Lepanto arrested the Greatnesse of the Turke. 122 There be many Examples, where Sea-Fights have beene Finall to the warre; But this is, when Princes or States, 123 haue fet vp their Rest, vpon the Battailes 124 But thus much is certaine; That hee that Commands the Sea, is at great liberty, and may take as much, and as little of the Warre, as he will. Whereas those, that be ftrongest by land, are many times neuerthelesse in great Straights. Surely, at this Day, with vs of Europe, the Vantage of Strength at Sea (which is one

^a The counsel of Pompey is evidently that of Themistocles: for he thinks that he who is master of the sea will rule all things. Cicero. Ad Atticum. x. 8.

¹²⁴ Set vp their Rest, vpon the Battailes. Aleæ hujusmodi Præliorum, totius Belli Fortuna commissa est, 'the whole fortune of war is set upon battles of this kind.'

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125 Great. Summi, ad Rerum Fastigia, momenti, 'of great importance for attaining the highest place.'

for attaining the highest place.'

126 Wealth. Thesauri et Opes, 'treasures and wealth.'

127 Martiall Encouragement. Ad Animos faciendos, 'to give courage.'

128 Some Degrees, and Orders of Chiualry. Ordines quosdam Honorificos

Militia, 's ome honourable orders of knighthood.'

129 Conferred promiscuously. Communes, 'common to.'

130 Soldiers, and no Soldiers. Armis et Togæ, 'arms and the gown.'

131 Maimed. Emeritis et Mutilatis, 'worn out and maimed.'

132 Monuments. Monumenta magnifica, 'magnificent monuments.'

133 Crowns and Garlands Personal. Corona Civicae, Militares, singulis

Conwessæ, 'civic crowns; military crowns conferred on individuals.'

of the Principall Dowries of this Kingdome of Great Brittaine) is Great: 125 Both because, Most of the Kingdomes of Europe, are not meerely Inland, but girt with the Sea, most part of their Compasse; And becaufe, the Wealth¹²⁶ of both *Indies*, feemes in great Part, but an Accessary, to the Command of the Seas.

The Warres of Latter Ages, seeme to be made in the Darke, in Respect of the Glory and Honour, which reflected voon Men, from the Warres in Ancient Time. There be now, for Martiall Encouragement, 127 fome Degrees and Orders of Chiualry; 128 which neuerthelesse, are conferred promiscuously, 129 vpon Soldiers, and no Soldiers; 130 And fome Remembrance perhaps vpon the Scutchion; And fome Hospitals for Maimed¹³¹ Soldiers; And such like Things. But in Ancient Times; The Trophies erected vpon the Place of the Victory; The Funerall Laudatiues and Monuments¹³² for those that died in the Wars; The Crowns and Garlands Perfonal; 133 The Stile of Emperour, which the Great Kings of the World after borrowed; 184 The Triumphes 185 of the Generalls vpon their Returne; 136 The great Donatiues and Largesses vpon the Disbanding of the Armies; were Things able to enflame all Mens Courages. 137 But aboue all, That of the Triumph, amongst the Romans, was not Pageants or Gauderie, but one of the Wifest and Noblest Institutions, that euer was. For it contained three Things; Honour 188 to the Generall; Riches to the Treasury out of the Spoiles;

¹³⁴ After Borrowed. A Belli Ducibus, 'from commanders in war.'
135 Triumphes. Celebres Triumphi, 'crowded triumphs.'
136 Of Generalls vpon their Returne. Redeuntium Ducum, Bellis prospere confectis, 'of generals returning after successfully finishing a war.'
137 Enflame all Mens Courages. Hec (inquam) tot et tanta fuerunt, et tam insigni splendore coruscantia, ut Pectoribus Mortalium etiam maxime conglaciatis, Igniculos subdere, eaque ad Bellum inflamare potuerint.'
'these, I say, were so many and so great, and shone with so much splendour, that they could set fire to the minds of mortals, however frozen, and inflame them to war.

¹³⁸ Honour. Decus et gloriam. 'nonour and glory.'

ν.

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States liberall of naturalization, are capable of greatneffe; and the iealous states that rest upon the first tribe and stirpe, quickly want body to carrie the

boughes and branches.

Many are the ingredients into the receit for greatneffe. No man can by care taking adde a cubit to his stature, in the little modell of a mans body. But certainly in the great frame of Kingdomes and Commonwealths, it is in the power of Princes or Estates by ordinances and constitutions, and manners which they may introduce, to sowe greatnesse to their posteritie and succession. But these things are commonly lest to chance.

189 Actuall Triumphs. Honorem ipsius Triumphi, 'the honour of an actual triumph.'

FINIS.



And Donatiues to the Army. But that Honour, perhaps, were not fit for *Monarchies;* Except it be in the Perfon of the *Monarch* himfelfe, or his Sonnes; As it came to paffe, in the Times of the *Roman Emperours*, who did impropriate the Actuall Triumphs ¹³⁹ to Themfelues, and their Sonnes, for fuch Wars, as they did atchieue in Perfon: And left onely, for Wars atchieued by Subiects, fome Triumphall Garments, and Enfignes, to the Generall.

[Expanded in 1625 Edition, and transposed to pp. 479, 481.]

To conclude; No Man can, by Care Saking (as the Scripture faith) adde a Cubite to his Stature; in this little Modell of a Mans Body: But in the Great Frame of Kingdomes, and Common Wealths, it is in the Power of Princes, or Estates, to adde Amplitude and Greatneffe to their Kingdomes. For by introducing such Ordinances, Constitutions, and Customes, as we have now touched, they may sow Greatneffe, to their Posteritie, and Succession. But these Things are commonly not Observed, 140 but left to take their Chance.

140 After Observed. Apud Principes, 'by princes.'





AHARMONY

OF THE

FOURTH GROUP

OF

EIGHTEEN

ESSAYS.

- 41. OF TRUTH.
- 42. OF REVENGE.
- 43. OF ADVERSITY.
 44. OF SIMULATION AND
- DISSIMULATION AND
- 45. OF ENVY.
- 46. OF BOLDNESS.
- 47. OF TRAVEL.
- 48. OF DELAYS.
- 49. OF INNOVATIONS.
- 50, OF SUSPICION.

- 51. OF PLANTATIONS.
- 52. OF PROPHECIES.
 - 53. OF MASQUES AND TRIUMPHS.
 - 54. OF USURY.
 - 55. OF BUILDING.
 - 56. OF GARDENS.
 - 57. OF ANGER.
 - 58. OF VICISSITUDES OF THINGS.

First published in 1625.

COLLATED WITH THE POSTHUMOUS LATIN EDITION OF 1638.

To which is added

A Fragment of an Essay,

OF FAME

First published in Resuscitatio, in 1657.



THE

ESSAYES

ΟR

COVNSELS,

MORALL,

OF

FRANCIS LO. VERVLAM,
VISCOVNT St. Alban.

Newly written.



LONDON,
Printed by IOHN HAVILAND for
HANNA BARRET.
1625.

THE EPISTLE DEDICATORIE.

ТО

THE RIGHT HONORABLE MY VERY GOOD LO. THE DVKE

of Buckingham his Grace, Lo. High Admirall of England.

EXCELLENT LO.



Alomon faies; A good Name is as a precious oyntment; And I affure my felfe, fuch wil your Graces Name bee, with Posteritie. For your Fortune, and Merit both, haue beene Eminent. And you haue planted Things, that are like to last. I doe now publish my Effayes;

which, of all my other workes, haue beene most Currant: For that, as it feemes, they come home, to Mens Bufinesse, and Bosomes. I have enlarged them, both in Number, and Weight; So that they are indeed a New Worke. I thought it therefore agreeable, to my Affection, and Obligation to your Grace, to prefix your Name before them, both in English, and in Latine. For I doe conceiue, that the Latine Volume of them, (being in the Vniuerfall Language) may last, as long as Bookes last. My Instauration, I dedicated to the King: My Historie of HENRY the Seventh, (which I have now also translated into Latine) and my Portions of Naturall History, to the Prince: And these I dedicate to your Grace; Being of the best Fruits, that by the good Encrease, which God gives to my Pen and Labours, I could yeeld. God leade your Grace by the Hand.

Your Graces most Obliged and faithfull Servant, F.R. St. ALBAN.

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British Museum Copy.

1. Of Truth.



HAT is Truth; faid jefting Pilate; And would not flav for an Answer. Certainly there be. that delight in Giddinesse: And count it a Bondage, to fix1 a Beleefe; Affecting Free-

will in Thinking, as well as in Acting. And though the Sects of Philosophers of that Kinde be gone, vet there remaine certaine discoursing 2 Wits, which are of the fame veines, though there be not so much Bloud in them, as was in those of the Ancients. But it is not . onely the Difficultie, and Labour, which Men take in finding out of Truth; Nor againe, that when it is found, it impofeth³ vpon mens Thoughts; that doth bring Lies in fauour: But a naturall, though corrupt Loue, of the Lie it felfe. One of the later Schoole of the Grecians, examineth the matter, and is at a fland, to thinke what should be in it, that men should love Lies: Where neither they make for Pleafure, as with Poets: Nor for Aduantage, as with the Merchant; but for the Lies fake. But I cannot tell: This fame Truth, is a Naked, and Open day light, that doth not shew, the Masques, and Mummeries, and Triumphs⁴ of the world, halfe fo Stately, and daintily, as Candlelights.⁵ Truth may perhaps come to the price of a Pearle, that sheweth best by day: But it will not rise, to the price of a Diamond, or Carbuncle, that sheweth best in varied lights. A mixture of a *Lie* doth euer adde Pleafure. Doth

a John xviii. 38.

FE. Variations in posthumous Latin Edition of 1638.

¹ Fix. Fide fixa aut Axiomatibus Constantibus, constringi, 'to be re-

² Discoursing. Ventosa et Discursantia, 'windy and discoursing.'

³ Imposeth. Qua. imponitur Captivitas, 'the captivity that it

Triumphs. Omitted in the Latin.

⁵ Candlelights. Tædæ, Lucernæque Nocturnæ, 'torches and nocturnal lamps."

any man doubt, that if there were taken out of Mens Mindes, Vaine Opinions, Flattering Hopes, False valuations, Imaginations as one would, and the like; but it would leave the Mindes, of a Number of Men, poore fhrunken Things; full of Melancholy, and Indisposition, and vnpleafing to themselues? One of the Fathers, in great Seuerity, called Poesie, Vinum Dæmonum; a because it filleth the Imagination, and yet it is, but with the shadow of a Lie. But it is not the Lie, that passeth through the Minde, but the Lie that finketh in,6 and fetleth in it, that doth the hurt, fuch as we fpake of before. But howfoeuer thefe things are thus, in mens depraued Iudgements, and Affections, yet Truth, which onely doth judge it felfe, teacheth, that the Inquirie of Truth, which is the Loue-making, or Wooing of it; The knowledge of Truth, which is the Presence of it; and the Beleefe⁷ of Truth, which is the Enjoying⁸ of it; is the Soueraigne Good of humane Nature. first Creature of God, in the workes of the Dayes, was the Light of the Sense; The last, was the Light of Reafon; And his Sabbath Worke, euer tince, is the Illumination of his Spirit. First he breathed Light. vpon the Face, of the Matter or Chaos; Then he breathed Light, into the Face of Man; and still he breatheth and inspireth Light, into the Face of his Chofen. The Poet, that beautified the Sect, that was otherwise inferiour to the rest, saith yet excellently well: 9 It is a pleafure to stand upon the shore, and to fee ships tost upon the Sea: A pleasure to stand in the window of a Castle, and to see a Battaile, and the Adventures thereof, below: But no pleafure is comparable, to the flanding, vpon the vantage ground of Truth: (A hill not to be

^a It is not certain to whom Bacon alludes; probably either Jerome, Letters to Damasus, 146; or Augustine, Confessio, i. 16.—See Mr. W. A. Wright's note at length at p. 289 of his edition.

⁶ Sinketh in. Quad a Mente imbibitur, 'which is drunk in by the mind.'
7 Beleefe. Veritatis Receptionem cum Assensu, 'the receiving of truth with
8 Enjoying. Fruitio et Amplexus, 'enjoying and embrace of it.' [assent.'
9 Suave est, &c. This is given merely in paraphrase, not as a literal quotation from Lucretius, De rerum Natura, ii. 1.

commanded, and where the Avre is alwaies cleare and ferene:) And to fee the Errours, and Wandrings, and Mists, and Tempests, in the vale below: So alwaies, that this profpect, be with Pitty, and not with Swelling, or Pride. Certainly, it is Heauen vpon Earth, to have a Mans Minde Moue in Charitie, Rest in Prouidence,

and Turne vpon the Poles of Truth.

To paffe from Theologicall, and Philofophicall Truth. to the Truth 10 of civill Businesse: It will be acknowledged, euen by those, that practize it not, that cleare and Round¹¹ dealing, is the Honour¹² of Mans Nature; And that Mixture of Falshood, is like Allay 13 in Coyne of Gold and Siluer;14 which may make the Metall worke the better, but it embaseth it. For these winding, and crooked courses, are the Goings of the Serpent; which goeth basely 15 vpon the belly, and not vpon the Feet. There is no Vice, that doth fo couer a Man with Shame, as to be found false, and perfidious. And therefore Mountaigny faith prettily, 16 when he enquired the reason, why the word of the Lie, should be such a Difgrace, and fuch an Odious Charge? Saith he, If it be well weighed, To fay that a man lieth, is as much to fay, as that he is braue towards God, and a Coward towards men.a For a Lie faces God, and shrinkes from Man. Surely the Wickedneffe of Falfhood, and Breach of Faith, cannot possibly be so highly expressed, as in that it shall be the last Peale, to call the Judgements of God, vpon the Generations of Men, It being foretold that when Christ commeth, He shall not finde Faith voon the Earth.b

^{--- 1 96 3 ----}

a Montaigne, Essais. ii. 18, p. b Luke xviii. 8.

¹⁰ Truth 'of civil business). Veritatem, aut potuis Veracitatem, 'truth, or rather truthfulness.

ther truthluness.

11 Round. Minime fucatam, 'not painted (counterfeit).'

12 Honour. Pracipium Decus, 'chief honour.'

13 Allay. Plumbea Materiae, 'leaden matter.'

14 Coin of Gold and Silver. Omitted in the Latin.

15 Basely. Omitted in the Latin.

16 Prettily. Acutissime, 'most acutely.'

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British Museum Copv.

4. Of Renenge.



Euenge is a kinde of Wilde Iustice; which the more Mans Nature runs to, the more ought Law1 to weed it out. For as for the first Wrong, it doth but offend the Law; but

the Revenge of that wrong, putteth the Law out of Office.2 Certainly, in taking Revenge, A Man is but euen with his Enemy; But in paffing it ouer, he is Superiour: For it is a Princes part to Pardon. And Salomon, I am fure, faith, It is the glory of a Man to paffe by an offence." That which is past, is gone, and Irreuocable;3 And wife Men haue Enough to doe, with things prefent, and to come: Therefore, they doe but trifle with themselues,4 that labour in past matters. There is no man, doth a wrong, for the wrongs fake; But therby to purchase himselfe, Profit, or Pleasure, or Honour, or the like.⁵ Therfore why should I be angry with a Man, for louing himfelfe better then mee? And if any Man should doe wrong, meerely out of ill nature, why? yet it is but like the Thorn, or Bryar, which prick, and fcratch, because they can doe no other.6 The most Tolerable Sort of Revenge, is for those wrongs which there is no Law to remedy: But then, let a man take heed, the Revense be fuch, as there is no law to

1 Law. Legibus severis, 'severe laws.'

3 Gone and Irreuocable. In integrum restitui non potest, 'cannot be restored entirely.

a Prov. xix. 11.

DE. Variations in posthumous Latin Edition of 1638.

² Putteth out of Office. Auctoritate sua plane spoliat, 'clearly strips it of its authority.'

⁴ Therefore, they doe . . . with themselves. Nugantur igitur, et se frustra conturbant. 'they trifle therefore, and disturb themselves to no purpose.' 5 Or the like. Omitted in the Latin.
6 Because they can do no other. Quia natura sua utuntur, 'because they act according to their nature.'

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punish: Else, a Mans Enemy, is still before hand, And it is two for one. Some, when they take Revenge, are Defirous the party should know, whence it commeth: This 8 is the more Generous. For the Delight feemeth to be, not fo much in doing the Hurt, as in Making the Party repent: But Base and Crasty Cowards, are like the Arrow, that flyeth in the Darke. Cosmus Duke of Florence, had a Desperate Saving, 9 against Perfidious or Neglecting Friends, as if those wrongs were vnpardonable: 10 You shall reade (faith he) that we are commanded to forgive our Enemies; But you never read, that wee are commanded, to forgive our Friends. But yet the Spirit of *Iob*, was in a better tune; 11 Shall wee (faith he) take good at Gods Hands, and not be content to take euill alfo? And fo of Friends in a proportion. This is certaine; That a Man that studieth Revenge, keepes his owne Wounds greene, 12 which otherwife would heale, and doe well. Publique Revenges, are, for the most part, Fortunate; As that for the Death of Cafar: For the Death of Pertinax; for the Death of Henry the Third 13 of France; And many more. But in priuate Revenges it is not fo. Nay rather, Vindicative Persons liue the Life of Witches; who as they are Mischieuous, So end 14 they Infortunate.



a Job ii. 10.

⁷ Two for one. Ipse sibi Panam conduplicat, 'he doubles the punishment for himself.

⁸ This. Iste Affectus, 'this disposition.'
9 Had a Desperate Saying. Acutissimum telum vibravit, 'brandished a very sharp weapon.'
10 As if those wrongs were vnpardonable. Omitted in Latin.

¹¹ Was in a better time. Logidtur meltora, 'says what is better.'
12 Keep green. Refricare, 'rub open again.'
13 Henry the Third. Quarti, 'fourth.'
14 After End. Plerunque, 'generally.'

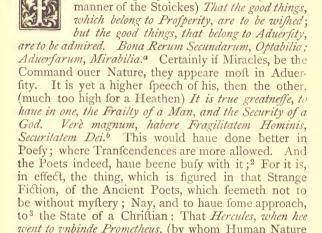
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Of Adnersitie.

was an high speech1 of Seneca, (after the



is represented) failed the length of the great Ocean, in an Earthen Pot, or Pitcher: Liuely describing Christian Refolution; that faileth, in the fraile Barke of the Flesh, thorow the Waues⁴ of the World. But to speake in a Meane.⁵ The Vertue of *Profperitie*, is Temper-

a Seneca, Epistles, lxvi.

b Seneca, Epistles. liii.

VI. Variations in posthumous Latin Edition of 1638.

¹ High speech. Grande prorsus sonabat . . . cum diceret, 'struck a high note . . . when he said.'

² Beene busy with it. Intactum non reliquerunt, 'have not left this un-

touched.'

³ Approach, to. Non obscure referre, 'refers to not obscurely.'
4 Waves. Fluctus, undique circumfusos, 'waves surrounding it on every

⁵ Speake in a Meane. Ut a Granditate verborum, ad Mediocritatem descendamus, 'to descend from grandeur of words to a mean.'

ance; The Vertue of Adversity, is Fortitude: which in Morals is the more Heroicall Vertue. *Profperity* is the Bleffing⁶ of the Old Teftament; Advertity is the Bleffing of the New: 7 which carrieth the greater Benediction,8 and the Clearer Reuelation of Gods Fauour. Yet, euen in the old Testament, if you Listen to Davids Harpe, you shall heare as many Herselike Avres, as 9 Carols: And the Pencill of the holy Ghoft, hath laboured more, in describing, the Afflictions of Iob, than the Felicities of Salomon. Prosperity is not without many Feares and Distastes; And Adversity is not without Comforts and Hopes. Wee fee in Needleworkes, and Imbroideries, 10 It is more pleafing, to have a Liuely Worke, vpon a Sad and Solemne 11 Grounde; 12 then to haue a Darke and Melancholy Worke, 13 vpon a Lightfome Ground: Iudge therfore, of the Pleafure of the Heart, by the Pleasure of the Eye. Certainly, Vertue is like pretious Odours, most fragrant, when they are incenfed, or crushed: For Prosperity doth best discouer Vice: But Adversity doth best discouer Vertue.



⁶ Is the Blessing. Ad Benedictiones pertinent, 'belongs to the Messings.'
7 Blessings of the New. Novi beatitudines, 'beatitudes of the New.'
8 Which carrieth the greater Benediction. Quæ, et reißsa majores sunt, 'which [the beatitudes] are in themselves greater.
9 As many Herselike ayers, as. Plures invenias Threnos, quam, 'you will

find more dirges than.

¹⁰ Imbroideries. Omitted in the Latin.

¹¹ Sad and Solemne. Coloris magis opaci, 'of a darker colour.'

¹² Ground. Stamen telæ, 'the warp of the web.'
13 Worke. Imagines, 'figures.'

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British Museum Copy.

6. Of Simulation and Dissimulation.



Issimulation is but a faint kind1 of Policy, or Wifdome; 2 For it asketh a ftrong Wit, and a strong Heart, to know, when to tell Truth, and to doe it.3 Therfore it is the weaker

Sort of Politicks, that are the great Diffemblers.

Tacitus 4 faith; Liuia forted well, with the Arts of her Husband, and Difsimulation of her Sonne: a Attributing Arts or Policy 5 to Augustus, and Dissimulation to Tiberius.^a And againe, when Mucianus encourageth⁶ Vefpasian, to take Arms against Vitellius, he faith; We rife not, against the Piercing Judgment of Augustus, nor the Extreme Caution or Clofeneffe⁷ of Tiberius.^b Thefe Properties of Arts or Policy, 8 and Dissimulation or Clofeneffe,9 are indeed Habits and Faculties, feuerall,10 and to be diftinguished. For if a Man, haue that Penetration of Iudgment, 11 as he can difcerne, what Things are to be laid open, and what to be fecretted, and what to be shewed at Halfe lights, and to whom,

a Tacitus. Annals. v. I.

b Tacitus. History. ii. 76.

BE. Pariations in posthumous Latin Edition of 1638.

1 Faint kind. Compendium quoddam, et Pars infirmior, 'a kind of short-

1 Fant kind. Compenatum quoadam, et Pars infirmior, a kind di shortening and weaker part of.
2 Policy or Wisdome. Artium Civilium, 'of political arts.'
3 Doe it. Id facere audeat, 'to dare to do it.'
4 Tacitus. Quad Discrimen, bene apud Tacitum, Cæsarem Augustum inter, et Tiberium, adnotatum est. Etenim de Livia sic ait, 'The difference between Cæsar Augustus, and Tiberius is well marked in Tacitus, for he says thus of Livia.'

'he brings in Mucianus, encourageth. Mucianum inducit . . . hortantem,
7 Extreme Caution or Cl. 5 Arts or Policy. Artes imperii, 'arts of government' 6 When Mucianus encourageth. Mucianum inducit

cautious old age.'

8 Arts or Policy. Artium Civilium, 'political arts.'
9 Dissimulation or Closenesse. Simulationum, 'simulation.'
10 Habits and Faculties, seuerall. Omitted in the Latin.

11 Penetration of Judgment, Fælicis Acuminis, tantæque Perspicaciæ, of such happy sharpness and penetration.

and when, (which indeed are Arts of State, and Arts of Life, 12 as Tacitus a well calleth them) to him, A Habit of Difsimulation, is a Hinderance, and a Pooreneffe, 13 But if a Man cannot obtaine to that Iudgment, 14 then it is left to him, 15 generally, to be Close, and a Diffembler. For where a Man cannot choose, or vary 16 in Particulars, there it is good to take the fafest and warieft Way 17 in generall; Like the Going foftly by one that cannot well fee. Certainly the ablest Men, that euer were, haue had all an Opennesse, and Francknesse of dealing; And a name of Certainty, 18 and Veracity: But then they were like Horses, well mannaged; For they could tell passing well, when to stop, or turne: And at fuch times, when they thought the Case indeed, required Dissimulation, 19 if then they vfed it, it came to paffe, that the former Opinion, fpred abroad of their good Faith, and Clearneffe of dealing, made them almost Inuisible.

There be three degrees, of this Hiding, and Vailing of a Mans Selfe.20 The first Clofenesse, Referuation. and Secrecy; 21 when a Man leaueth himselfe without Observation, or without Hold to be taken, what he is.²² The fecond Difsimulation, in the Negative; when a man lets fall Signes, and Arguments, that he is not,

^a Mr. W. A. Wright in his edition states, 'It is difficult to say whether Bacon had in his mind the egregium publicum et bonas domi artes of Tac. Ann. iii. 70, or the studia fori et civilium artius decus of Agr. c. 39.'

¹² Arts of State, and Arts of Life. Artes Politica, et Civiles.
13 Poorenesse. Omitted in the Latin.

¹⁴ That Iudgment. Hunc Iudicii et Discretionis Gradum, 'to this degree of judgment and discretion.'

¹⁵ Left to him. Tanquam tutissimum, 'as the safest course.'
16 Or vary. Omitted in the Latin.

¹⁰ Or vary. Omitted in the Latin.

17 Take the safest and wariest Way. Caute insistere tutissimum est, 'it is safest to proceed cautiously.'

18 Name of Certainty. Omitted in the Latin.

19 Dissimulation. Dissimulationem Profundam, 'profound dissimulation.'

20 Mans Selfe. Consilia et Mentem, 'plans and mind.'

21 Reservation and Secrecy. Omitted in the Latin.

22 When a Man leaueth himselfe. . . what he is. Cum quis sensus Animi sui premit, adeoque relinquit in equilibrio, ut in quam partem propendent, newofucile conicertit. When a man represses his conicore and leaves. pendeat, nemo facile conjecerit, 'When a man represses his opinions, and leaves it so evenly balanced that no one can easily guess to which side he is inclined."

that he is. And the third Simulation, in the Affirmatiue; when a Man industriously, and expressely, 23 faigns,

and pretends to be, that he is not.

For the first of these, Secrecy: It is indeed, the Vertue of a Confessour: And affuredly, the Secret Man. heareth many Confessions; For who will open himselfe, to a Blab or a Babler? But if a Man be thought Secret, it inuiteth Discouerie; 24 As the more Close Aire, fucketh in the more Open: And as in Confession. the Reuealing is not for worldly vse, but for the Eafe of a Mans Heart, fo Secret Men come to the Knowledge of Many Things, in that kinde; while Men rather discharge their Mindes, then impart their Mindes. In few words, Mysteries are due to Secrecy. Befides (to fay Truth) Nakedneffe is vncomely, 25 as well in Minde, as Body; and it addeth no fmall Reuerence, to Mens Manners, and Actions, if they be not altogether Open. As for Talkers and Futile Perfons, they are commonly Vaine, and Credulous withall. For He that talketh, what he knoweth, will alfo talke, what he knoweth not. Therfore fet it downe; That an Habit of Secrecy, is both Politick, and Morall. And in this Part, 26 it is good, that a Mans Face, giue his Tongue, leaue to Speake. For the Difcouery, of a Mans Selfe, 27 by the Tracts of his Countenance, 28 is a great Weakneffe, and Betraying; By how much, it is many times, more marked and beleeved, then a Mans words.

For the Second, which is Difsimulation. It followeth many times upon Secrecy, by a necessity: So that, he

²³ Industriously, and expressely. Aperte, 'openly.

²⁴ Inviteth Discouerie. Facile aliorum Animos reserabit, 'He will easily unlock the minds of others.'

Tracomely. Deformis et invenusta, 'shapeless and uncomely.'
 And in this Part. Illud addendum est, 'it must be added.'
 Mans Selfe. Animi, 'mind.'

²⁸ Tracts of his Countenance. Ex Vultu, aut Gestu, by his countenance or gesture.

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that will be Secret, must be 29 a Diffembler, in some degree. For Men are too cunning, to fuffer a Man, to keepe an indifferent carriage, betweene both, and to be Secret. 30 without Swaying the Ballance, 31 on either fide. They will fo befet a man with Questions, 32 and draw him on, and picke it out of him, that without an abfurd 33 Silence, he must shew an Inclination, 34 one way: Or if he doe not, they will gather as much by his Silence, as by his Speech. As for Equiuocations, or Oraculous Speeches, they cannot hold out long. So that no man can be fecret, except he give himselfe a little Scope of Dissimulation; which is, as it were, but the Skirts or Traine of Secrecy.

But for the third Degree, which is Simulation, and false Profession; That I hold more culpable, and lesse politicke; except it be in great and rare Matters.35 And therefore a generall Custome of Simulation (which is this last Degree) 36 is a Vice, rising either of a naturall Falsenesse, or Fearfulnesse; Or of a Minde, that hath fome maine Faults;37 which because a man must needs difguife, it maketh him practife 38 Simulation, in other

things, left his Hand should be out of vre. 39

The great Advantages of Simulation and Difsimulation are three. First to lay asleepe 40 Opposition, and to Surprize. For where a Mans Intentions, are publifted, it is an Alarum, to call vp, all that are against

30 And to be Secret. Omitted in the Latin.

32 Questions. Quastionibus subtilibus, 'subtle questions.'
 33 Absurd. Obfirmato et absurdo, 'obstinate and absurd'

²⁹ After Must be. Vel nolens, 'even if unwilling.'

³¹ Swaying the Ballance. Inclinationis suce declaratione, 'any declaration of his inclining."

Absurd. Objermato et absurdo, 'obstinate and absurd,'
 Shewan Incination, one way. Senomuliti prodere,' betray himselfalittle.'
 Great and rare Matters. Nisi forte digena vindice Nodus inciderit,
 (Which is this last Degree.) Omitted in the Latin.
 Minde, . . maine Faults. Animi Constitutione, qua Vitio aliquo magno imbula est,' constitution of mind, which is tainted with some great fault.'
 Practise. Adhibere et exercere, 'apply and practise.'
 Hand should be out of vre. Habitus ipse intercidat, 'lest the habit be lost.
 Lay asleepe. Amoliatur, 'remove.'

them. The fecond is, to referue to a Mans Selfe, a faire Retreat:41 For if a man engage himselfe, by a manifest Declaration, 42 he must goe through, or take a Fall.⁴³ The third is, the better to ⁴⁴ difcouer the Minde of another. For to him that opens himselfe, Men will hardly shew themselues aduerse; but will (faire) let him goe on, and turne their Freedome of Speech, to Freedome of thought. And therefore, it is a good shrewd Prouerbe of the Spaniard; Tell a lye, and finde a Troth. As if there were no way of Difcouery, but 45 by Simula-There be also three Difaduantages, to set it even. The first, That Simulation and Difsimulation, commonly carry with them, a Shew of Fearfulnesse, which in any Bufineffe, doth spoile the Feathers, of round 46 flying vp to the Mark. The fecond, that it pulleth and perplexeth the Conceits of many; 47 that perhaps would otherwife co-operate with him; 48 and makes a Man walke, almost alone, 49 to his owne Ends. The third, and greatest is, that it depriueth a Man, of one, of the most principall Instruments for Action; which is Trust and Beleefe. 50 The best Composition, and Temperature is, to have Openneffe in Fame and Opinion; 51 Secrecy in Habit; Dissimulation in seasonable vse; And a Power to faigne, if there be no Remedy.

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42 After Manifest Declaration. Is cuneis quasi impactis includitur, 'he is shut in, as if by wedges driven home.'

unlock secrets.'

46 Round. Perniciter, 'swiftly.'

47 Pusleth and perplexeth . . . many. In ancipites Cogitationes Animas conjiciant, 'casts minds into doubtful thought.'

48 After Co-operate with him. Et studio suo rem promoturi, 'and promote the matter by their zeal.'

49 Alone. Sine socia et amica opera . . solus, 'without the help of companions and friends—alone.'

50 Trust and Beleefe. Fide, 'faith.'

51 Opinion. Omitted in the Latin.

⁴¹ Faire Retreat. Ut pedem referat, et se absque Existimationis sua jactura de Negotio subducat, 'to retreat and retire from the business without loss of reputation.'

⁴⁸ Take a Fall. Turpiter desirendum, 'leave off with disgrace.'
44 The better to. Quod viam aperiat, 'because it opens the way to.'
45 No way of Discouery, but. Clavis ad Secreta reseranda, 'a key to unlock secrets.

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British Museum Copy.

o. Of Enup.



Here be none of the Affections, which haue beene noted to fascinate, or bewitch,1 but Love, and Enuy. They both haue 2 vehement wishes; They frame themselues

readily into Imaginations, and Suggestions; And they come eafily into the Eye; especially vpon the presence of the Obiects; which are the Points, that conduce to Fascination, if any such Thing there be. We see likewife, the Scripture calleth Enuy, An Euill Eye: And the Aftrologers, call the euill Influences of the Starrs. Euill Afpects; So that still, there feemeth to be acknowledged, in the Act of Enuv. an Eiaculation, or Irradiation of the Eve. Nav fome haue beene fo curious, as to note, that the Times, when the Stroke, or Percuffion of an Enuious Eye doth most hurt, are, when the Party enuied is beheld in Glory, or Triumph; For that fets an Edge vpon Enuy; And besides, at such times, the Spirits of the person Enuied, doe come forth, most into the outward Parts, and fo meet the Blow.

But leaving these Curiosities, (though not vnworthy, to be thought on, in fit place), wee will handle,3 what Perfons are apt to Enuy others; What perfons are most Subject to be Enuied themselves; And, What is the Difference between Publique, and private Enuy.

A man, that hath no vertue in himselfe, ever envieth Vertue in others. For Mens Mindes, will either feed vpon 4 their owne Good, or vpon others Euill; And who

DH. Variations in posthumous Latin Edition of 1638.

 Bewitch. Omitted in the Latin.
 Haue. Progignit, 'produce.'
 Wee will handle. Tractabinus hac tria, 'we shall handle these three points. 4 Feed vpon. Se pascuni, et delectantur, 'feed upon and delight in.'

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wanteth the one,⁵ wil prey vpon the other; And who fo is out of Hope to attaine to anothers Vertue, will feeke to come at euen hand, by Depreffing an others Fortune.

A man that is Bufy, and Inquisitiue, is commonly *Enuious*: For to know much of other Mens Matters, cannot be, because all that Adoe may concerne his owne Estate: Therfore it must needs be, that he taketh a kinde of plaie-pleasure, in looking vpon the Fortunes of others; Neither can he, that mindeth but his own Businesse, finde much matter for *Enuy*. For *Enuy* is a Gadding Passion, and walketh the Streets, and doth not keepe home; *Non est curiosus*, quin idem sit male-volus.

Men of Noble birth, are noted, to be *enuious* towards New Men, when they rife. For the diffance is altered: And it is like a deceipt of the Eye, that when others

come on, they thinke themselues goe backe.

Deformed Perfons, and Eunuches, and Old Men, and Bastards, are *Enuious*: For he that cannot possibly mend his owne case, will doe what he can to impaire anothers; Except these Defects light, vpon a very braue, and Heroicall Nature; which thinketh to make his Naturall Wants, part of his Honour: In that it should be faid, that an Eunuch, or a Lame Man, did such great Matters; Affecting the Honour of a Miracle; as it was in *Narses* the Eunuch, and *Agesilaus*, and *Tamberlanes*, that were Lame men.

The fame, is the Cafe of Men, that rife after Calamities, and Misfortunes; For they are, as Men fallen out with the times; And thinke other Mens Harmes, a

Redemption, of their owne Sufferings.

They, that defire to excell in too many Matters, out

⁵ The one. *Primo Alimento*, 'the former nourishment.'

^o Matter for Enuy. *Segetem Invidia*, 'crop of envy.'

of Leuity, and Vaine glory, are euer Enuious; For they cannot want worke; 7 It being impossible, but many, in fome one of those Things, should surpasse them. Which was the Character of Adrian the Emperour, that mortally Enuied Poets, and Painters, and Artificers. in Works, wherein he had a veine to excell.

Laftly, neare Kinsfolks, and Fellowes in Office, and those that have beene bred together, are more apt to Enuv their Equals, when they are raifed. For it doth vpbraid vnto them, their owne Fortunes; And pointeth at them, and commeth oftner into their remembrance, and incurreth likewife more into the note of others: And Enuy euer redoubleth 8 from Speech and Fame. Cains Enuy, was the more vile, and Malignant, towards his brother Abel; Because, when his Sacrifice was better accepted, there was no Body to looke on. Thus much for those that are apt to Enuv.

Concerning those that are more or leffe subject to Enuy: First, Persons of eminent Vertue, when they are aduanced, are leffe enuied. For their Fortune feemeth but due vnto them; and no man Enuieth the Payment of a Debt, but Rewards, and Liberality 9 rather. Againe, Enuy is euer ioyned, with the Comparing of a Mans Selfe; 10 And where there is no Comparison, no Enuy; And therfore Kings, are not enuied, but by Kings. Neuertheleffe. it is to be noted, that vnworthy Perfons, are most enuied, at their first comming in, and afterwards ouercome it better; 11 wheras contrariwife, Persons of Worth, and Merit, are most enuied, when their Fortune continueth long. For by that time. though their Vertue be the fame, yet it hath not the

⁷ For they cannot want worke. Ubique enim occurrunt Objecta Inviaia, 'for objects of envy everywhere meet them.'

Redoubleth . Reflectitur, et conduplicatur, 'is reflected and redoubled.'
 Rewards, and Liberality. Largitioni supra Meritum, 'liberality above desert.

 ¹⁰ Of a Mans Selfe. Omitted in the Latin.
 11 Quercome it better. Postea vero minus, 'but afterwards less.'

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the fame Lustre; For fresh Men grow vp, that darken it.

Perfons of Noble Bloud, are leffe enuied, in their Rifing: 12 For it feemeth, but Right, done to their Birth. 13 Besides, there seemeth not much added to their Fortune; And Enuy is as the Sunne Beames. that beat hotter, vpon a Bank or fleepe rifing Ground; 14 then vpon a Flat. And for the fame reason, those that are advanced by degrees, are leffe enuied, then those that are advanced fuddainly, 15 and per faltum. b

Those that have ioyned with their Honour, great Trauels, Cares, or Perills, are leffe fubiect to Enuy. For Men thinke, that they earne their Honours hardly, and pitty them fometimes; And Pitty, euer healeth Enuy: Wherefore, you shall observe that the more deepe, and fober fort of Politique perfons, in their Greatnesse, are euer bemoaning themselues, what a Life they lead; Chanting a Quanta patimur.c Not that they feele it fo, but onely to abate the Edge of Enuv. But this is to be vnderstood, of Businesse, that is laid vpon Men, and not fuch as they call vnto themfelues. For Nothing increaseth Enuy more, then an vnneceffary, and Ambitious Ingroffing of Bufineffe. And nothing doth extinguish Enuy more, then for a great Person, to preserve all other inferiour Officers, in their full Rights, and Preheminences, of their Places. 16 For by that meanes, there be fo many 17 Skreenes betweene him, and Enuv.

so many.'

a This passage is transferred from the Essay Of Nobility in the 1612 edition.—See pp. 190, 191, 194.

b At a bound.

c How great things do we suffer.

¹² Rising, Cum Honoribus cumulantur, 'when they are laden with honours.

¹³ Birth. Majoribus suis, 'to their forefathers.'
14 Steepe rising Ground. Omitted in the Latin.

Suddainly. Omitted in the Latin.
 Preserve . . . in their full Rights, and Preheminences, of their Places. Nihil detrachat, 'detract nothing from.'
 So many. Quot illi Ministri sunt, tot, 'as many as there are officers.

Aboue all, those are most subject to 18 Enuy, which carry the Greatnesse of their Fortunes, in an infolent and proud Manner: Being neuer well, 19 but while they are shewing, how great they are, Either by outward Pompe, or by Triumphing ouer all Opposition, or Competition; whereas Wife men will rather doe facrifice to Enuy; in fuffering themselues, sometimes of purpose to be croft, and ouerborne 20 in things, that doe not much concerne them. Notwithstanding, so much is true; That the Carriage of Greatnesse, in a plaine and open manner (fo it be without Arrogancy, and Vaine glory) doth draw leffe Enuy, then if it be 21 in a more crafty, and cunning fashion. For in that course, a Man doth but difauow Fortune; And feemeth to be confcious, of his owne want in worth: And doth but teach 22 others to Enuv him.

Laftly, to conclude this Part; As we faid in the beginning, that the Act of Enuy, had fomewhat in it, of Witchcraft; fo there is no other Cure of Enuy, but the cure of Witchcraft: 23 And that is, to remoue the Lot (as they call it) and to lay it vpon another. For which purpose, the wifer Sort of great Persons, bring in euer vpon the Stage, fome Body, vpon whom to deriue 24 the Enuie, that would come vpon themselues; Sometimes 25 vpon Ministers and Seruants: Sometimes vpon Colleagues and Affociates; and the like; And for that turne, there are neuer wanting, fome Persons of violent and vndertaking Natures, who fo they may haue Power, and Businesse, will take it at any Cost. 26

Subiect to. In se concitant, 'excite against themselves.'
 Well. Sibi placentes, 'pleasing to themselves.'
 Crost, and ouerborne. Vinci, 'overcome.'
 Then if it be. Quam si se note subtrashat, 'than if it withdraws itself

from notice.'
22 Teach. Stimulat, 'provoke.'
23 Cure of Witchcraft. Venefi Veneficii, et Incantationis, 'witchcraft and

²⁴ Deriue. Derivent, 'turn off.'

²⁵ Sometimes. Quandoque . . . eam rejicientes, 'sometimes casting it off.'

²⁶ Take it at any cost. Quovis periculo mercari, 'buy it for any danger.'

Now to speake of Publique Enuy. There is yet fome good in Publique Enuy; whereas in Private. there is none. For Publique Enuy is as an Ostracifme, 27 that eclipfeth Men, when they grow too great. And therefore it is a Bridle also to Great Ones, to keepe them within Bounds.

This Enuy, being in the Latine word Inuidia, goeth in the Moderne languages, by the name of Difcontentment: Of which we shall speake in handling Sedition. It is a difease, in a State, 28 like to Infection. For as Infection, spreadeth vpon that, which is found, and tainteth it; So when Enuy, is gotten once into a State, it traduceth euen the best Actions 29 thereof, and turneth them into an ill Odour. And therefore, there is little won by intermingling of plaufible 30 Actions. For that doth argue, but a Weakneffe, and Feare of Enuy, which hurteth fo much the more, as it is likewife vfuall in Infections; which if you feare them, you call them vpon you.31

This publique *Enuv*, feemeth to beat ³² chiefly, vpon principall Officers, or Ministers, rather then yoon Kings, and Estates 33 themselues. But this is a sure Rule, that if the Enuy vpon the Minister, be great, when the cause of it, in him, is fmal; or if the Enuy be generall, in a manner, vpon all the Ministers of an Estate; then the Enuv (though hidden) is truly vpon the State it felfe. 34 And fo much of publike enuy or difcontentment, and the difference therof from Private Enuv, which was handled

in the first place.

 ²⁷ Ostracisme. Salubris Otracismi, 'a salutary ostracism.'
 28 State. Regnis et Rebuspublicis, 'kingdoms and states.'
 29 Actions. Mandata et Instituta, 'laws and ordinances.'

³⁰ Plausible. Actiones gratas et populares, odiosis, 'pleasing and popular actions with disagreeable ones.'

³¹ Call them you you. Facilius irruunt, 'they attack you more easily.

\$2 Seemeth to beat. Involat, 'flies at.'

\$3 And Estates. Omitted in the Latin.

\$4 State it selfe. Regem, and Statum ipsum, 'the king or state itself.'

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We will adde this, in generall, touching the Affection of Enuy; that of all other Affections, it is the most importune, and continuall. For of other Affections, 35 there is occasion given, but now and then: And therefore, it was well said, Inuidia festos dies non agit.^a For it is ever working vpon some, or other.³⁶ And it is also noted, that Love and Envy, doe make a man pine, which other Affections doe not; because they are not so continuall. It is also the vilest Affection, and the most depraved; For which cause, it is the proper Attribute, of the Devill, who is called; The Envious Man, that foweth tares amongst the wheat by night.^b As it alwayes commeth to passe, that Envy worketh subtilly, and in the darke; And to the prejudice of good things, such as is the Wheat.



a Jealousy keeps not holidays.

⁶ Matt. xiii. 25.

³⁵ For of other Affections. Aliis Affectibus excitandis, of exciting other affections.

³⁶ For it is euer working vpon some or other. Quia semper Materiam se exercendi reperit, 'for it always finds material on which to work,'

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1625. British Museum Copy.

12. Of Boldnesse.



T is a triuiall Grammar Schoole Text, but yet worthy a wife Mans Confideration. Queftion was asked of Demosthenes: What was the Chiefe Part of an Oratour? He an-

fwered, Action; what next? Action; what next again? Action.a He faid it, that knew it best; And had by nature, himselfe, no Aduantage, in that he commended. A strange thing, that that Part of an Oratour, which is but fuperficiall, and rather the vertue of a Player; fhould be placed fo high, aboue those other Noble Parts, of Invention, Elocution, and the rest: Nav almost alone, as if it were All in All. But the Reason is plaine. There is in Humane Nature, generally, more of the Foole, then of the Wife: And therfore those faculties, by which the Foolish part of Mens Mindes is taken, are most potent. Wonderfull like is the Case¹ of Boldneffe, in Civill Bufineffe; What first? Boldneffe; What Second, and Third? Boldneffe. And yet Boldneffe is a Childe of Ignorance, and Bafeneffe, farre inferiour to other Parts.2 But neuertheleffe, it doth fascinate, and binde hand and foot, those, that are either shallow3 in Iudgment; or weake4 in Courage, which are the greatest Part; Yea and preuaileth with wife men, at weake times.⁵ Therfore, we fee it hath done wonders,6 in Popular States; but with Senates

BE. Variations in posthumous Latin Edition of 1638.

a Cicero, Brutus, xxxviii.

¹ Wonderfull like is the Case. Mire convenit, et quasi parallela est, 'agrees wonderfully, and is as it were parallel.'

Other parts. Civilis Scientiae Partibus, 'parts of political science.'

Shallow. Infirmi, 'weak.'

Weake. Timidiores, 'more timid.'

⁵ At weake times. Cum Animis vacilleni, 'when they waver in their minds.'

One wonders. Piurimum valuisse, 'has been most strong.'

and Princes leffe: And more euer vpon the first entrance of Bold Perfons into Action, then foone after; For Boldnesse is an ill keeper of promise. Surely, as there are Mountebanques for the Naturall Body: 7 So are there Mountebanques for the Politique Body: Men that vndertake great Cures; And perhaps haue been Lucky, in two or three Experiments, but want the Grounds of Science; And therfore cannot hold out.8 Nay you shall see a Bold Fellow, many times, doe Mahomets Miracle. Mahomet made the People beleeue, that he would call an Hill to him; And from the Top of it, offer vp his Praiers, for the Observers of his Law. The People affembled; Mahomet cald the Hill to come to him, againe, and againe; And when the Hill stood still. he was neuer a whit abashed, but said; If the Hill will not come to Mahomet, Mahomet wil go to the hil. So these Men, when they have promised great Matters, and failed most shamefully, (yet if they have the perfection of Boldneffe) they will but flight it ouer, and make a turne, and no more adoe. Certainly, to Men of great Iudgment, Bold Perfons, are a Sport to behold; Nay and to the Vulgar also, Boldnesse hath fomewhat of the Ridiculous. For if Abfurdity be the Subject of Laughter, doubt you not, but great Boldnesse is feldome without some Absurdity. Especially, it is a Sport to fee, when a Bold Fellow is out of Countenance; For that puts his Face, into a most Shruncken, and woodden Posture;9 As needes it must; For in Bashfulnesse, the Spirits doe a little goe and come; but with Bold Men, vpon like occasion, they fland at a flay; 10 Like a Stale at Cheffe, where

⁷ For the Naturall Body. Qui Corpori Naturali mederi profitentur,
8 Who profess to heal the natural body.
8 Cannot hold out. Scepius excidunt, 'often fail.'
9 Shruncken and woodden Posture. In se reductum, sed deformiter,
'drawn back into itself, but ill-favouredly.'
10 Stand at a stay. Attoniti hærent, 'they stick, astounded.'

it is no Mate, but yet the Game cannot stirre. But this last, were fitter for a Satyre, then for a serious Observation. This is well to be weighed; That Boldneffe is ever blinde: For it seeth not dangers, and Inconveniences. Therfore, it is ill in Counsell, good in Execution: So that the right Vse of Bold persons is, that they never Command in Chiefe, but be Seconds, and vnder the Direction of others. For in Counsell, it is good to see dangers; And in Execution, not to see them, except they be very great.



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British Museum Copy.

Of Trangile.1



Rauaile, in the younger Sort, is a Part of Education; In the Elder, a Part of Experience. He that trauaileth into a Country,2 before he hath fome Entrance into the Lan-

guage, goeth to Schoole, and not to Trauaile. That Young Men trauaile vnder fome Tutor, or graue 3 Seruant, I allow well; So that he be fuch a one, that hath the Language, and hath been in the Country before; whereby he may be able to tell them, what Things are worthy to be feene4 in the Country where they goe; what Acquaintances they are to feeke: What Exercifes or discipline the Place yeeldeth. For elfe young Men shall goe hooded, and looke abroad little. It is a strange Thing, that in Sea voyages, where there is nothing to be feene, but Sky and Sea, Men should make Diaries; But in Land-Trau[a]ile, wherin fo much is to be observed, for the most part, they omit it; As if Chance, were fitter to be registred, then Observation. Let Diaries, therefore, be brought in vfe. The Things to be feene and observed are: The Courts of Princes, fpecially when they give Audience⁶ to Ambaffadours.⁷ The Courts of Iustice, while they sit 8 and heare Causes; And fo of Confiftories Ecclefiafticke: The Churches. and Monasteries, with the Monuments which are there-

DR. Dariations in posthumous Latin Edition of 1638.

1 TITLE. De Peregrinatione in Partes Exteras, 'of travel into foreign parts.

- Arcs.

 2 Country. Partes Exteras, 'foreign parts.'

 3 Graue. Experto, 'experienced.'

 4 Seene. Spectatu et cognitu, 'seen and noticed.'

 5 Acquaintances. Amicitiae et Familiaritutes, 'friendships and acquaintances.

6 Giue Audience. Admittunt, 'admit.'
 7 Ambassadours. Legatos Exteros, 'foreign ambassadors.'
 8 While they sit. Omitted in the Latin.

in extant: The Wals and Fortifications of Cities and Townes: And fo the Hauens and Harbours: Antiquities, and Ruines: Libraries; Colledges, Difputations, and Lectures, where any are: Shipping and Nauies: Houses, and Gardens of State, and Pleasure, neare great Cities: Armories: Arfenals: Magazens: 9 Exchanges: Burfes: Ware-houses: Exercises of Horseman-ship; Fencing; Trayning 10 of Souldiers; and the like: Comedies: Such wherunto the better Sort of perfons doe refort; Treasuries of Iewels, and Robes; Cabinets, 11 and Rarities: And to conclude, what foeuer is memorable 12 in the Places; where they goe. After all which, the Tutors or Seruants, ought to make diligent Enquirie. As for Triumphs; Masques; Feasts, Weddings: Funeralls: Capitall Execustilons; and such Shewes: Men need not to be put in minde of them; Yet are they not to be neglected. If you will have a Young Man, to put his Trauaile, 13 into a little Roome, and in fhort time, to gather much, this you must doe. First, as was faid, he must have some Entrance into the Language, before he goeth. Then he must have fuch a Seruant, or Tutor, as knoweth the Country, as was likewife faid. Let him carry with him also some Card or Booke describing the Country, where he trauelleth; which will be a good Key to his Enquiry. Let him keepe also a Diary. Let him not stay long in one Citty, or Towne; More or lesse as the place deferueth, but not long: Nay, when he stayeth in one City or Towne, let him change 14 his Lodging, from one End15 and Part of the Towne, to another; which

⁹ Magazens. Cellæ et Horrea publica, 'public stores and granaries.'

<sup>Magazens. Cella et Horrea pionica, public stores and granaries.
10 Trayning. Delectus et Instructio, 'levying and training.'
11 Cabinets. Curiositates, 'curiosities.'
12 Memorable. Celebre aut memorabile, 'remarkable or memorable.'
13 Trauaile. Fructum Peregrinationis, 'the fruit of his travel.'
14 Change. Mulet sæpius, 'change often.'
15 End. Omitted in the Latin.</sup>

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is a great Adamant 16 of Acquaintance. Let him fequester himselfe from the Company of his Country men, and diet in fuch Places, where there is good Company of the Nation, where he trauaileth. Let him vpon his Remoues, from one place to another, procure Recommendation, to fome person of Quality, refiding in the Place, whither he remoueth; that he may vie his Fauour, 17 in those things, he desireth to see or know. Thus he may abridge 18 his Trauaile, with much profit. As for the acquaintance, 19 which is to be fought in Travaile; That which is most of all profitable, is Acquaintance with the Secretaries, and Employd Men of Ambaffadours; For fo in Trauailing in one Country he shall sucke 20 the Experience 21 of many. Let him also see and visit, Eminent Persons, in all Kindes, which are of great Name abroad; That he may be able to tell, how the Life²² agreeth with the Fame. For Quarels,23 they are with Care and Difcretion to be auoided: They are, commonly, for Mistresses; 24 Healths; 25 Place; and Words, 26 And let a Man beware, how he keepeth Company, with Cholerick and Quarelfome 27 Perfons; for they will engage him into their owne Quarels. When a Trauailer returneth home, let him not leaue the Countries. where he hath Trauailed, altogether behinde him;

¹⁶ After Adamant. Attrahendi Familiaritates, et Consuetudines Hominum complurium, for attracting acquaintances and friendships with many men.'
17 Fauour. Favore et opera, favour and help.'
18 Abridge. Viliitatem accelerare, hasten the profit.'
19 Acquaintance. Familiaritates et Amicitias, 'acquaintances and friend-

ships.'

20 Sucke. Ad se attrahet, et suget, 'draw to himself and suck.'

21 Experience. Notitiam et Experientiam, 'knowledge and experience.'

22 Life. Os, vultus, et Corporis Lineamenta et Motus, 'face, countenance, and lineaments and movements of the body.'

23 Quarels. Rixas et Simultates, 'quarrels and disputes.'

24 Mistresses. Anores, 'loves.'

25 Healths. Compotationes, 'drinking bouts.'

26 Words. Verba contumeliosa, 'insulting words.'

27 Quarelsome. Qui facile Inimicitias suscipiunt, 'who easily take up

enmities.'

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But maintaine²⁸ a Correspondence, by letters, with those of his Acquaintance, which are of most Worth. And let his *Trauaile* appeare rather in his Discourse, then in his Apparrell, or Gesture: And in his Discourse, let him be rather adulted in his Answers, then forwards²⁹ to tell Stories; And let it appeare, that he doth not change his Country Manners, for those of Forraigne Parts; But onely, prick in some Flowers, of that he hath Learned abroad, into the Customes of his owne Country.



Maintaine. Conservet. et colat, 'maintain and cultivate.'
 Forwards. Facilis et pronus, 'easy and disposed.'

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21. Of Delayes.1

Ortune is like the *Market*; Where many times, if you can flay a little, the Price will fall. And againe, it is fometimes like *Sybilla's* Offer; which at first offereth the Commodity at full, then consumeth part and part, and still

FF. Fariations in posthumous Latin Edition of 1638.

TITLE, De Mora, 'of delay.'

holdeth vp the Price. For Occafion (as it is in the Common verse) turneth a Bald Noddle, after she hath presented her locks in Front, and no hold taken: Or at least turneth the Handle of the Bottle, first to be received, and after the Belly, which is hard to claspe. There is furely no greater Wifedome, then well to time the Beginnings, and Onfets of Things. Dangers are no more light, if they once feeme light: And more dangers have deceived Men, then forced them. Nay, it were better, to meet fome Dangers halfe way, though they come nothing neare,2 then to keepe too long a watch,3 vpon their Approaches;4 For if a Man watch too long, it is odds he will fall afleepe. On the other fide, to be deceived, with too long Shadowes, (As fome haue beene, when the Moone was low, and shone on their Enemies backe) And fo to shoot off before the time; Or to teach dangers to come on, by ouer early Buckling towards them, is another Extreme. The Ripenesse, or Vnripenesse, of the Occasion (as we faid) must euer be well weighed; And generally, it is good, to commit the Beginnings of all great Actions, to Argos with his hundred Eyes; And the Ends to Briareus with his hundred Hands: First to Watch, and then to Speed. For the Helmet of Pluto, which maketh the Politicke Man goe Inuifible, is, Secrecy in the Counfell, and Celerity in the Execution. For when Things are once come to the Execution, there is no Secrecy comparable to Celerity; Like the Motion of a Bullet in the Ayre, which flyeth fo fwift, as it out-runs the Eye.



Though they come nothing neare. Omitted in the Latin.
Watch. Perpetuo inquirere, et observare, 'continually to seek out and watch.

Approaches. Motus, et Appropinquationem, 'movements and approach.'

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24. Of Finnanations.



the Births of Liuing Creatures, 1 at first, are ill shapen: So are all Innovations, which are the Births of Time. Yet notwithstanding, as Those that first bring Honour into

their Family, are commonly more worthy, then most that fucceed: So the first President 2 (if it be good) is feldome attained 3 by Imitation.4 For Ill, to Mans Nature, as it stands peruerted, 5 hath a Naturall Motion, strongest in Continuance: But Good, as 6 a Forced Motion, strongest at first. Surely euery Medicine is an Innouation; And he that will not apply New Remedies, must expect New Euils: For Time is the greatest Innovatour: And if Time, of course, alter Things to the worfe, and Wifedome, and Counfell shall not alter them to the better, what shall be the End? 7 It is true,8 that what is fetled by Custome, though it be not good, yet at least it is fit.9 And those Things, which haue long gone together, 10 are as it were confederate within themselues: Whereas New Things peece 11 not fo well; But though they helpe by their vtility, yet

BE. Variations in posthumous Latin Edition of 1638.

1 Births of Liuing Creatures. Partus recens editi, 'recent births'

² First President. Exemplaria, et Primordia, 'precedents and beginnings.'
³ Seldome attained. Plurimum, superant, 'mostly surpass.'
⁴ Imitation. Imitationem Ætatis sequentis, 'imitation of the succeeding

5 As it stands peruerted. Omitted in the Latin,
6 As. Ut fieri amat, 'as is usually done.'
7 End. Finis Mali, 'end of the evil.'
8 True. Concedi prorsus debet, 'must be granted.'
9 Fit. Aptum . . Temporibus, 'fit for the times.'
10 Gone together. Uno quasi Alveo fluxerunt, 'have flowed as it were in one bed.'

11 Peece. Veteribus . . . cohæreant, 'cohere with the old.'
12 Inconformity. Novitate tamen et Inconformitate, 'by their newness and inconformity.1

they trouble, by their Inconformity. 12 Besides, they 13 are like Strangers: 14 more Admired, and leffe Fauoured. All this is true, if Time flood still; which contrariwife moueth fo round, that a Froward 15 Retention of Cuftome, is as turbulent a Thing, as an Innovation: And they that Reuerence too much Old Times, are but a Scorne to the New. It were good therefore, that Men in their *Innovations*, would follow the Example of Time it felfe; which indeed Innovateth greatly, but quietly, and by degrees, scarce to be perceived: 16 For otherwife, whatfoeuer is New, is vnlooked for; 17 And euer it mends Some, and paires 18 Other: And he that is holpen, takes it for a Fortune, and thanks the Time: And he that is hurt, for a wrong, and imputeth it to the Author. It is good also, not to try Experiments 19 in States; 20 Except the Necessity be Vrgent, or the vtility Euident: And well to beware, that it be the Reformation,²¹ that draweth on the Change; And not the defire of Change, that pretendeth the Reformation. And lastly, that the Nouelty, 22 though it be not rejected, vet be held for a Suspect: And, as the Scripture faith; That we make a stand upon the Ancient Way, and then looke about us, and difcouer, what is the firaight, and right way, and fo to walke in it,a



a Jer. vi. 16.

¹⁸ They. Novitates, 'novelties.'

¹⁸ Strangers. Advena aut pergrini, 'newcomers or foreigners.'
15 Froward. Importuna et Morosa, 'unsuitable and froward.'
16 After Perceiued. Illud enim pro certo habeas, 'be assured of this.'
17 Vnlooked for. Prater Spen et Expectationem accedere, 'comes, contrary to hope and expectation.

¹⁸ Paires. Eripere, 'takes away from.'

19 Experiments. Experiments Novis, 'new experiments.'

20 States. In Corporibus Politicis medendis, 'in reforming political

²¹ Reformation. Reformationis studium, 'desire of reformation.'
22 The Nouelty. Omnis Novitas, 'every novelty.'

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British Museum Copy.

31. Of Suspicion.

Vfpicions amongst Thoughts, are like Bats

amongst Birds, they euer fly by Twilight. Certainly, they are to be repressed. or, at the leaft, well guarded: For they cloud the Minde; they leefe Frends; and they checke with Bufineffe, whereby Bufineffe cannot goe on, currantly, and conftantly. They dispose Kings to Tyranny, Husbands to Iealousie, Wife Men to Irresolution and Melancholy. They are Defects, not in the Heart, but in the Braine; For they take Place in the Stoutest Natures: As in the Example of Henry the Seuentl of England: There was not a more Sufpicious Man, nor a more Stout. And in fuch a Composition, they cloe fmall Hurt. For commonly they are not admitted. but with Examination, whether they be likely or no? But in fearefull Natures, they gaine Ground too fast. There is Nothing makes a Man Sufpect much, more then to Know little: And therefore Men should remedy Sufficion, by procuring to know more, and not to keep their Sufpicions in Smother.2 What would Men haue? Doe they thinke, those they employ and deale with, are Saints?3 Doe they not thinke, they will haue their owne Ends, and be truer to Themselues, then to them? Therefore, there is no better Way to moderate Sufpicions, then to account vpon4 fuch Sufpicions as true, and vet to bridle them, as false. For so farre, a

DE. Bariations in posthumous Latin Edition of 1638.

¹ Procuring to know more. Ut quis Inquisitionem urgeat, 'to press inquiry.

<sup>And not to keep their Suspicions in smother. Fumo enim et Tenebris aluntur Suspiciones, 'for suspicions are nourished by smoke and darkness.'
Saints. Angelos esse, aut Sanctos? 'are angels or saints?'
Account vpon. Remedia parare, 'prepare remedies.'</sup>

Man ought to make vse of Suspicions, as to prouide, as if that should be true, that he Suspects, yet it may doe him no Hurt. Suspicions, that the Minde, of it selfe, gathers, are but Buzzes; 5 But Sufpicions, that are artificially nourished, and put into Mens Heads,6 by the Tales, and Whifprings of others,7 haue Stings. Certainly, the best Meane, to cleare the Way, in this same Wood⁸ of Sufpicions, is franckly to communicate them,⁹ with the Partie, that he Suspects: For thereby, he shall be fure, to know more of the Truth of them, then he did before; And withall, shall make that Party, more circumspect, 10 not to give further Cause of Suspicion. But this would not be done to Men of bafe¹¹ Natures: For they, if they finde themselues once suspected, will neuer be true. The Italian faies: Sofpetto licentia fede: a As if Sufpicion did give a Pasport to Faith: But it ought rather to kindle it, to discharge it selse.



a Suspicion gives a passport to trust.

<sup>Buzzes. Inanes Bombi, 'empty buzzes.'
Heads. Animis, 'minds.'
Others. Famigeratorum, 'talebearers.'
Same Wood. Impedita Sylva, 'tangled wood.'
Franckly to communicate them. Libera quadam et aperta illarum Declaratio, 'a free and open declaration of them.'</sup>

¹⁰ Circumspect. Cautum magis et circumspectum, 'more careful and circumspect.

¹¹ Base. Pravæ, et Degeneris, 'bad and base.'

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British Museum Copy.

33. Of Plantations.1



Lantations 2 are 3 amongst Ancient, Primitiue,4 and Heroicall Workes. When the World was young, it begate more Children; But now it is old, it begets fewer:

For I may justly account new Plantations, to be the Children of former Kingdomes. I like a Plantation in a Pure Soile; that is, where People are not Difplanted, to the end, to Plant in Others. For elfe, it is rather an Extirpation, then a Plantation. Planting of Countries, is like Planting of Woods; For you must make account, to leefe almost 6 Twenty yeeres Profit, and expect your Recompence,7 in the end. For the Principall Thing, that hath beene the Destruction of most Plantations,8 hath beene the Base, and Hastie drawing of Profit, in the first Yeeres. It is true, Speedie Profit 9 is not to be neglected, as farre as may stand, with the Good of the *Plantation*, but no further. It is a Shamefull and Vnbleffed Thing, to take the Scumme of People, and Wicked Condemned 10 Men, to be the People with whom you Plant: And not only fo, but it spoileth 11 the Plantation; For they will euer live like Rogues, and not fall to worke, but be Lazie, and doe

VI. Variations in posthumous Latin Edition of 1638.

- 1 TITLE. De Plantationibus Populorum, et Coloniis, 'of plantations of peoples and colonies.
 - ² Plantations. Coloniæ, 'colonies.' 3 Are. Eminent, 'are prominent.

4 Primitiue. Omitted in the Latin.
5 Displanted. Destruitur, 'destroyed.'

- Make account to lesse almost . . . Profit. De Utilitate capienda nihil cogitandum ante. 'there must be no thought of getting profit before.' Recompence. Fructus uber et locuples, 'abundant and rich fruit.' Plantations. Colonias, alias bene successuras, 'plantations, which otherwise would have succeeded well.'

Profit. Lucri Segetem, 'crop of profit.'
 Wicked Condemned. Exules, et Damnati, 'exiles and condemned men.'
 Spoileth. Corrumpit et perdit, 'spoils and destroys.'

Mischiefe, and spend Victuals, and be quickly weary, 12 and then Certifie 13 ouer to their Country, to the Difcredit 14 of the *Plantation*. The People wherewith you Plant, ought to be Gardners, 15 Ploughmen, Labourers, Smiths, Carpenters, Ioyners, Fisher-men, Fowlers, with fome few 16 Apothecaries, Surgeons, Cookes, and Bakers. 17 In a Country of *Plantation*, first looke about. what kinde of Victuall, 18 the Countrie yeelds of it felfe, to Hand: 19 As Chestnuts, Wall-nuts, Pine-Apples, Oliues, Dates, Plummes, Cherries, Wilde-Hony, and the like: and make vse of them. Then consider, what Victuall or Esculent Things there are, which grow speedily, and within the yeere; As Parfnips, Carrets, Turnips, Onions, Radish,²⁰ Artichokes of Hierusalem, Maiz, and the like. For Wheat, 21 Barly, and Oats, they aske too much Labour: But with Peafe, and Beanes, you may begin; Both because they aske lesse Labour, and because they ferue for Meat, as well as for Bread. And of Rice likewise commeth a great Encrease, and it is a kinde of Meat. Aboue all, there ought to be brought Store of Bisket, Oat-meale, Flower, Meale, and the like, in the beginning, till Bread may be had. For Beafts, or Birds, take chiefly fuch, as are least Subject to Difeases, and Multiply fastest: As Swine, Goats, Cockes, Hennes, Turkies, Geefe, Houfe doues, 22 and the like. The Victuall in Plantations, ought to be expended, almost as in a Befieged Towne; That is, with certaine Allowance. And let the Maine Part of the Ground employed

¹² Weary. Coloniæ Fastidio, 'weary of the colony.'
13 Certifie. Nuncios et Literas mittent, 'will send messengers and letters.'
14 Discredit. Prajudicium et dedecus, 'prejudice and discredit.'
15 Before Gardners. Pracipue Artifices generum sequentium, 'chiefly artisans of the following kinds.
16 With some few. Omitted in the Latin.
17 After Bakers. Cercuistavii, et hujusmodi, 'brewers and the like,'
13 Victuall. Esculentorum et Poculentorum, 'eatables and drinkables.'
19 To Hand. Sine cultura, 'without tilling.'
20 After Radish. Melones, Pepones, Cucumeres, 'melons, pumpkins, cucumbers.'
21 After Wheat. Silianam 'pulse'.

²¹ After Wheat. Siliquam, 'pulse.' ²² After House-doues. Cuniculi, 'rabbits.'

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to Gardens or Corne, bee to a Common Stocke; 23 And to be Laid in, and Stored vp,24 and then Deliuered out in Proportion; Befides fome Spots of Ground, that any Particular Person, will Manure, for his owne Private.²⁵ Confider likewife, what Commodities the Soile, where the *Plantation* is, ²⁶ doth naturally yeeld, that they may fome way helpe to defray the Charge of the Plantation: 27 So it be not, as was faid, to the vntimely Prejudice, of the maine Bufineffe: 28 As it hath fared with Tobacco in Virginia. Wood 29 commonly aboundeth but too much; And therefore, Timber 30 is fit to be one.31 If there be Iron Vre. and Streames whereupon to fet the Milles; Iron is a braue 32 Commoditie, where Wood aboundeth. Making 33 of Bay Salt, if the Climate be proper for it, would be put in Experience. Growing Silke 34 likewife, if any be, is a likely 35 Commoditie. Pitch and Tarre, 36 where flore of Firres and Pines are, will not faile. So Drugs, and, Sweet Woods, where they are, cannot but yeeld great Profit. Soape Ashes 37 likewise, and other Things, that

a In the Latin this clause precedes the one before it in the text, and reads thus: - Charge of the Plantation, As it hath fared with Tobacco in Virginia, So it be not, as was said, to the vntimely Preiudice of the maine Businesse. Wood, commonly, &c.

Wood, commonly, &c.

23 Common Stocke. Horreis publicis, 'public granaries.'

24 Stored vp. Omitted in the Latin.

25 That any Particular Person . . . owne private. In quibus Industria singulorum se exerceat, 'on which the industry of individuals may be 26 Soile, where the Plantation is. Regio illa, 'that district.' [exercised.' 27 That they may . . Plantation. Vt Exportatio earum, in loca nhi maxime in pretio sunt, sumptus levet, 'that their exportation to places where they are of most value, may lessen the expense.'

28 Maine Businesse. Coloniæ ipsins, 'the plantation itself.'

29 After Wood. In Regionibus desertis, 'in uninhabited countries.'

30 Timber. Ligna, ad Ædificia, Naves, aut ejusmodi usus apta, 'timber, fit for building houses and ships or similar purposes.'

31 To be one. Inter pracipuas Merces muneranda, 'to be counted among

nt tor building houses and ships or similar purposes.'

31 To be one. Inter practipuas Merces muneranda, 'to be counted among the chief articles of traffic.'

32 Braue. Quastuosic, 'profitable.'

33 Making. Confectio per Calorem Solis, 'making by the heat of the sun.'

34 Silke. Sericum vegetabile, 'vegetable silk.'

35 Likely. Lucrosa, 'profitable.'

36 Pitch and Tarre. Pix cujuscunque generis, 'pitch of all kinds.'

37 Soape Ashes. Cineres quibus ad Sapam utuntur, non medicum Utilitatis afterent, 'ashes, which are used for soap, will bring no little advantage.

may be thought of. But moile not too much vnder Ground: 38 For the Hope 39 of Mines is very Vncertaine, 40 and vieth to make the Planters 41 Lazie, in other Things. For Gouernment, let it be in the Hands of one, affifted with fome Counfell: And let them have Commission. to exercise Martiall Lawes, with some limitation. And aboue all, let Men make that Profit of being in the Wildernesse, as they have God alwaies, and his Seruice before their Eyes. Let not the Gouernment of the Plantation, depend vpon too many Counfellours, and Vndertakers, in the Countrie that *Planteth*, but vpon a temperate Number; 42 And let those be, rather Noblemen, and Gentlemen, then Merchants: For they looke euer to the present Gaine. Let there be Freedomes from Custome, 43 till the *Plantation* be of Strength: And not only Freedome from Custome,44 but Freedome to carrie their Commodities, where they may make their Best of them, except there be some speciall Cause of Caution. Cramme 45 not in People, by fending too fast, Company, after Company; But rather hearken how they waste,46 and fend Supplies proportionably; But so, as the Number may live well, in the

³⁸ Moile not . . . ground. Verum fodinis ne confidas nimium prasertim a principio, 'but trust not too much to mines, especially in the beginning,' 39 Hope. Omitted in the Latin.

Mope. Omitted in the Latin.
 Vicertaine. Fallaces et sumptuosæ, 'deceiving and expensive.'
 Vseth to make the Planters. Spe pulchra lactantes, Colomos reddunt, 'and alluring the planters with fair hopes, make them.'
 Let not the Gouernment. Number. Rursus, Colonia, a numerosiore Concilio (Intelligo in Regione, Matre Colonia, residente) non pendeat; Nec ob Contributiones exiguas Multitudin inniue subjiciatur; Sed sit Numerus corum, qui Negotia Colonice procurant et ordinant, moderatus:
'again let not the colony depend on a too numerous council, residing in the
mother country, nor let it be subject to too great a multitude on account of
small contributions, but let the number of those who manage and order the

small contributions, but let the future of those who manage and order the business of the colony be moderate.'

2 Custome. Vectigalibus et Portoriis, 'taxes and customes.'

44 Custome. Solutionibus Pecuniarum, 'payment of money.'

44 Cyamme. Farcias aut superoneres, 'cram or overload.'

46 Waste. Quot Capita de tempore in tempus minuantur, 'how the number is diminished from time to time.'

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Plantation, and not by Surcharge 47 be in Penury. It hath beene a great Endangering, to the Health of some Plantations, that they have built along the Sea, and Rivers, in Marish and vnwholesome 48 Grounds Therefore, though you begin there, to auoid Carriage, and other like Discommodities, yet build still, rather vpwards, from the Streames, then along. 49 It concerneth likewife, the Health of the Plantation, that they have good Store of Salt with them, that they may vie it, in their Victualls, when it shall be necessary. 50 If you Plant, where Sauages are, doe not onely entertaine them with Trifles, and Gingles; But vse them iuftly, and gratiously, with sufficient Guard neuerthelesse: And doe not winne their fauour, by helping them to inuade their Enemies, but for their Defence⁵¹ it is not amiffe. And fend oft of them, ouer to the Country, that Plants, that they may fee a better Condition 52 then their owne, and commend 53 it when they returne. When the Plantation grows to Strength, then it is time, to Plant with Women,54 as well as with Men; That the Plantation may foread into Generations, and not be euer peeced 55 from without. It is the finfullest Thing in the world, to forfake or destitute a Plantation, once in Forwardneffe: For befides the Dishonour, it is the Guiltineffe of Bloud, 56 of many Commiserable Persons.



⁴⁷ Surcharge. Omitted in the Latin. 48 Vnwholesome. Aquosis, 'watery.

women also.'

Be . . . peeced. Pendeat, 'depend.'
 Guiltinesse of Bloud. Proditio mera Profusioque Sanguinis, 'simple betrayal and shedding of blood.

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British Museum Copy.

35. Of Prophecies.



Meane not to speake of Divine Prophecies; Nor of Heathen Oracles; Nor of Naturall Predictions; But only of Prophecies, that haue beene of certaine Memory, and from

Hidden Causes. Saith the Pythonissa to Saul; To Morrow thou and thy fonne shall be with me. a Homer hath thefe Verfes.

At Domus Æneæ cunctis dominabitur Oris, Et Nati Natorum, et qui nafcentur ab illis:b

A Prophecie, as it feemes, of the Roman Empire. Seneca the Tragedian hath these Verses.

> ---- Venient Annis Secula feris, quibus Oceanus Vincula Rerum laxet, et ingens Pateat Tellus, Typhifque nouos Detegat Orbes: nec sit Terris Vltima Thule :c

A Prophecie of the Discouery of America. Daughter of Polycrates dreamed, that Iupiter bathed her Father, and Apollo annointed him: And it came to passe, that he was crucified in an Open Place, where the Sunne made his Bodie runne with Sweat. and the Raine washed it. d Philip of Macedon dreamed. He fealed vp his Wiues Belly: Whereby he did expound it, that his Wife should be barren: But Aris-

a 1 Sam. xxviii. 19.
b But the family of Eneas shall rule over all lands. And his children's

o But the family of Aneas shall rule over all lands. And his children's children and those that shall be born of them. Virgil. Aneid. iii. 97. which are adapted from Homer. Iliad. xx. 307, 8.

There shall come a time in the series of years, in which the Ocean shall unloss the bounds of things and a vast earth shall appear; also another Typhys shall disclose new worlds, neither shall Thule be the farthest land. Seneca. Medea. ii. 375-380.

d Herodotus. iii.

tander the Soothfayer, told him, his Wife was with Childe, because Men doe not vse to Seale Vessells that are emptie.^a A Phantasme, that appeared to M. Brutus in his Tent, faid to him; Philippis iterum me videbis.b Tiberius faid to Galba. Tu quoque Galba degustabis Imperium. In Vespasians Time, there went a Prophecie in the East: That those that should come forth of Iudea, should reigne ouer the World: which though it may be was meant of our Sauiour, yet Tacitus expounds it of Vefpafian.d Domitian dreamed. the Night before he was flaine, that a Golden Head was growing out of the Nape of his Necke: And indeed, the Succession that followed him, for many yeares, made Golden Times. Henry the Sixt of England, faid of Henry the Seuenth, when he was a Lad, and gaue him Water; This is the Lad, that shall enion the Crowne, for which we strive! When I was in France, I heard from one Dr. Pena, that the O. Mother, who was given to Curious Arts, caufed the King her Husbands Natiuitie, to be Calculated, under a false Name; And the Aftrologer gaue a Judgement, that he should be killed in a Duell; At which the Queene laughed, thinking her Husband, to be aboue Challenges and Duels: but he was flaine, vpon a Courfe at Tilt, the Splinters of the Staffe of Mongomery, going in at his Beuer. The triuiall Prophecie, which I heard, when I was a Childe, and Queene Elizabeth was in the Flower of her Yeares, was;

> When Hempe is sponne; England's done.

a Plutarch, Alexander. ii.

b Thou shalt see me again at Philippi. Appian. De Bellis Civilibus.

iv. 134.

• Thou also wilt taste of Empire. Suetonius. Galba. iv. tells it of Augustus.

Tacitus. History. v. 13.

Suetonius, Domitian, xxiii.
Holinshed. iii. 678. b. Ed. 1587.

Whereby, it was generally conceiued, that after the Princes had Reigned, which had the Principiall Letters, of that Word Hempe, (which were Henry, Edward, Mary, Philip, Elizabeth) England should come to vtter Consusion: Which, thankes be to God, is verified only, in the Change of the Name: For that the Kings Stile, is now no more of England, but of Britaine. There was also another Prophecie, before the year of 88. which I doe not well vnderstand.

There shall be seene vpon a day,
Betweene the Baugh, and the May,
The Blacke Fleet of Norway.
When that that is come and gone,
England build Houses of Lime and Stone
For after Warres shall you have None.

It was generally conceiued, to be meant of the Spanish Fleet, that came in 88. For that the King of Spaines Surname, as they say, is Norway. The Prediction of Regiomontanus;

Octogefsimus octavus mirabilis Annus;a

Was thought likewise accomplished, in the Sending of that great Fleet, being the greatest in Strength, though not in Number, of all that euer swamme vpon the Sea. As for Cleons Dreame, I thinke it was a Iest. It was, that he was deuoured of a long Dragon; And it was expounded of a Maker of Sausages, that troubled him exceedingly. There are Numbers of the like kinde; Especially if you include Dreames, and Predictions of Astrologie. But I have set downe these sew oney of certaine Credit, for Example. My Iudgement is, that they ought all to be Despised; And ought to serve, but for Winter Talke, by the Fire side. Though when I say Despised, I meane it as for Beleese: For other-

a Eighty Eight, a year of wonders.
b Aristophanes. Knights. 195.

wife, the Spreading or Publishing of them, is in no fort to be Defpised. For they have done much Mischiefe: And I fee many feuere Lawes made to suppresse them. That, that hath given them Grace, and fome Credit, confifteth in three Things. First, that Men marke, when they hit, and neuer marke, when they miffe: As they doe, generally, also of Dreames. The fecond is, that Probable Coniectures, or obfcure Traditions, many times, turne themselues into Prophecies: While the Nature of Man, which coueteth Divination, thinkes it no Perill to foretell that, which indeed they doe but collect. As that of Seneca's Verse. For so much was then subject to Demonstration, that the Globe of the Earth, had great Parts beyond the Atlanticke; which mought be Probably conceived, not to be all Sea: And adding thereto, the Tradition in Plato's Timeus, and his Atlanticus, it mought encourage One, to turne it to a Prediction. The third, and Last (which is the Great one) is, that almost all of them, being infinite in Number, haue beene Impoltures, and by idle and craftie Braines, meerely contriued and faigned, after the Euent Paft,



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British Museum Copy.

37. Of Masques and Trinmphs.



Hefe Things are but Toyes, to come amongst fuch Serious Obferuations. But yet, fince Princes will have fuch Things, it is better, they should be Graced with Elegancy, then

Daubed with Cost. Dancing to Song, is a Thing of great State, and Pleafure. I vnderstand it, that the Song be in Quire, placed aloft, and accompanied with fome broken Musicke: And the Ditty fitted to the Deuice. Acting in Song, especially in Dialogues, hath an extreme Good Grace: I fay Acting, not Dancing, (For that is a Meane and Vulgar Thing;) And the Voices of the Dialogue, would be Strong and Manly. (A Bafe, and a Tenour; No Treble;) And the Ditty High and Tragicall; Not nice or Dainty. Severall Quires, placed one ouer against another, and taking the Voice by Catches, Antheme wife, give great Plea-Turning Dances into Figure, is a childish Curiofity. And generally, let it be noted, that those Things, which I here fet downe, are fuch, as doe naturally take the Senfe, and not respect Petty Wonderments. It is true, the Alterations of Scenes, so it be quietly, and without Noise, are Things of great Beauty, and Pleasure: For they feed and relieue the Eye, before it be full of the same Object. Let the Scenes abound with Light, specially Coloured and Varied: And let the Masquers, or any other, that are to come down from the Scene, have fome Motions, vpon the Scene it selfe, before their Comming down: For it drawes the Eye strangely, and makes it with great pleasure, to desire to see that, it cannot perfectly discerne. Let the Songs be Loud, and Cheerefull, and

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not Chirpings, or Pulings. Let the Musicke likewise, be Sharpe, and Loud, and Well Placed, The Colours, that shew best by Candlelight, are; White, Carnation, and a Kinde of Sea-Water-Greene; And Oes, or Spangs, as they are of no great Cost, so they are of most Glory. As for Rich Embroidery, it is lost, and not Difcerned. Let the Sutes of the Mafauers, be Gracefull, and fuch as become the Perfon, when the Vizars are off: Not after Examples of Knowne Attires: Turks, Soldiers, Mariners, and the like. Let Antimafques not be long: They have been commonly of Fooles, Satures, Baboones, Wilde-Men, Antiques, Beafts, Sprites, Witches, Ethiopes, Pigmies, Turquets, Nimphs, Rufticks, Cupids, Statua's Mouing, and the like. As for Angels, it is not Comicall enough, to put them in Anti-Masques; And any Thing that is hideous, as Deuils, Giants, is on the other fide as vnfit. But chiefly, let the Muficke of them, be Recreative, and with fome strange Changes. Some Sweet Odours, fuddenly comming forth, without any drops falling, are, in fuch a Company, as there is Steame and Heate, Things of great Pleasure; and Refreshment. Double Masques, one of Men, another of Ladies, addeth State, and Variety. But All is Nothing, except the Roome be kept Cleare, and Neat.

For Iusts, and Tourneys, and Barriers; The Glories of them, are chiefly in the Chariots, wherein the Challengers make their Entry; Especially if they be drawne with Strange Beafts; As Lions, Beares, Cammels, and the like: Or in the Deuices of their Entrance; Or in the Brauery of their Liueries; Or in the Goodly Furniture of their Horses, and Armour. But

enough of these Toves.



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British Museum Copy.

41. Of Benrie.1



Any have made Wittie Invectives against Vfurie.2 They fay, that it is Pitie, the Deuill should have Gods part, which is the That the Vfurer is the greatest

Sabbath Breaker, because his Plough goeth euery Sunday.³ That the Vfurer is the Droane, that Virgil fpeaketh of:

Ignauum Fucos Pecus à præfepibus arcent.a

That the Vfurer breaketh the First Law, that was made for Mankinde, after the Fall; which was, In fudore Vultûs tui comedes Panem tuum; Not, In fudore Vultûs alieni. That Vfurers should have Orangetawney Bonnets, because they doe Iudaize. That it is against Nature, for Money to beget Money; And the like. I fay this onely, that Vfury is a Conceffum propter Duritiem Cordis: For fince there must be Borrowing and Lending, 4 and Men are fo hard of Heart, as they will not lend freely, Vfury must be permitted. Some Others haue made Suspicious, and Cunning Propositions, of Bankes, Discouery of Mens Estates, and other Inventions. But few have spoken of Vfury vfefully.6 It is good to fet before vs, the Incommodities, and Commodities of Vfury; That the Good may be,

Georgics, iv. 168.

b In the sweat of thy face, shalt thou eat thy bread [Gen. iii. 18], not in the sweat of another's face.

A concession on account of the hardness of the heart. BE. Fariations in posthumous Latin Edition of 1638.

1 TITLE. De Vsura sive Fænore, 'of usury or interest.'
2 Vsurie. Fæneratores, 'usurers.'
3 Euery Sunday. Sabbathis, 'on Sabbaths.'
4 Borrowing and Lending. Ut Pecunias mutuo dent, et accipiant, 'that men should give and receive money on loan.'

5 Bankes. Argentariis, et Excambiis publicis, 'banks and public

exchanges.

6 Vsefully. Solide et utiliter, 'solidly and usefully.'

a They drive away the drones, a slothful race, from the hives. Virgil.

either Weighed out, or Culled out; And warily to prouide, that while we make forth, to that which is better, we meet not, with that which is worfe.

The Difcommodities of Vfury are: First, that it makes fewer Merchants. For were it not, for this Lazie Trade of Vfury,8 Money would not lie still,9 but would, in great Part, be Imployed upon Merchandizing; Which is the Vena Porta of Wealth 10 in a State. The Second, that it makes Poore Merchants. For as a Farmer cannot husband his Ground fo well, 11 if he fit at 12 a great Rent: So the Merchant cannot drive his Trade fo well, 13 if he fit at 14 great 'Vfury. The Third is incident to the other two; And that is, the Decay of Customes of Kings or States, 15 which Ebbe or flow with Merchandizing. The Fourth, that it bringeth the Treasure 16 of a Realme or State, into a few Hands. For the Vfurer 17 being at Certainties, and others at Vncertainties, at the end of the Game; 18 Most of the Money will be in the Boxe; 19 And euer a State flourisheth, when Wealth is more equally 20 foread. 21 The Fifth, that it beats downe the Price of Land: 22 For the Employment of Money, is chiefly, either

⁷ Meet not with. Intercipiamur et incidamus, 'are intercepted by and

⁸ Trade of Vsury. Pecuniae in Fanus Erogatio, 'giving out of money at interest,'

<sup>Lie still. Delitescerent præ Socordia, 'be hidden away from idleness.'
Of Wealth. Ad Opes introducendas, 'for bringing in wealth.'
So well. Ita fructuose, 'so fruitfully.'</sup>

¹² Sit at. Solvat, 'pay.'
18 So well. Tam commode et lucrose, 'so conveniently and profitably.' 14 If he sit at. Si Pecuniis Fanore sumptis, negotietur, 'if he do business

with money taken up at interest. 15 Customes of Kings or States. Portoriorum et Vectigalium publicorum, 'public customs and taxes.'

public customs and taxes."

16 Treasure. Thesaurum, et Pecunias, 'treasure and money.'

17 Vsurer. Fameratoris Lucrum, 'the usurer's gain.'

13 After Game. Prout fit sæpe in Alea, 'as often happens at dice.'

19 The Boxe. Promo, 'the keeper.'

20 Equally. Omitted in the Latin.

21 Spread. Dispergantur, non coacerventur, 'spread not heaped up.'

22 Land. Terræ et Prædiorum, 'land and farms.'

Merchandizing, or Purchasing: 23 And Vsury Way-laves both. The Sixth, that it doth Dull and Dampe all Industries, Improvements, and new Inventions, wherin Money would be Stirring, if it were not for this Slugge. The Last, that it is the Canker and Ruine of many Mens Estates; Which in processe of Time breeds a Publike Pouertie.

On the other fide, the Commodities of Vfury are. First, that howsoeuer Vfury in some respect hindereth Merchandizing, yet in fome other it aduanceth it: For it is certain, that the Greatest Part of Trade, is driven by Young Merchants, vpon Borrowing at Interest: So as if the Vfurer, either call in, or keepe backe his Money, there will enfue prefently a great Stand 24 of Trade. The Second is, That were it not, for this easie borrowing vpon Interest, Mens necessities would draw vpon them, a most fudden vndoing; In that they would be forced to fell their Meanes (be it Lands or Goods) farre vnder Foot; 25 and fo, whereas Vfury doth but Gnaw vpon them, Bad Markets 26 would Swallow them quite vp. As for Mortgaging, 27 or Pawning, it will little mend the matter; For either Men will not take Pawnes without Vfe; Or if they doe, they will looke precifely for the Forfeiture.28 I remember a Cruell Moneyed Man, in the Country, that would fay; The Deuill take this Vfury, it keepes vs from Forfeitures, of Mortgages, and Bonds. The third and Last is; That it is a Vanitie to conceiue, that there would be Ordinary Borrowing without Profit:

²³ Purchasing. Pradiorum Coemptiones, 'purchasing farms.'
24 Stand. Clades, 'destruction.'
25 Farre vnder Foot. Nimis vili pretio, 'at too low a price.'
26 Bad Markets. Distractiones, 'selling piecemeal.'
27 Mortgaging. Ea que a Jureconsultis appelluntur Mortua vadia.
48 Forfeiture. Solutione ad diem minime prastita, summo jure agent,
48 Forfeiture. Solutione ad diem minime prastita, summo jure agent,
49 forfeiture.

^{&#}x27;if payment is not made at the day, they will act according to the extremity of the law.

And it is impossible to conceive, the Number of Inconueniences, that will enfue, if Borrowing be Cramped. Therefore, to speake of the Abolishing of Vsury is Idle. All States have ever had 29 it, in one Kinde or Rate, or other. So as that Opinion must be sent to Vtopia.

To speake now, of the Reformation and Reiglement of Vfury; How the Difcommodities of it may be best avoided, and the Commodities retained. It appeares by the Ballance, of Commodities, and Difcommodities of Vfury, Two Things are to be Reconciled. The one, that the Tooth of Vfurie be grinded, that it bite not too much: The other, that there bee left open a Meanes, to inuite Moneyed Men, to lend to the Merchants, for the Continuing and Quickning 30 of Trade. This cannot be done, except you introduce, two feuerall Sorts of Vfury; A Leffe, and a Greater. For if you reduce Vfury, to one Low Rate, it will ease the common³¹ Borrower, but the Merchant wil be to feeke for Money. And it is to be noted, that the Trade of Merchandize, being the most Lucratiue, may beare Vfury at a good Rate; Other Contracts not fo.

To ferue both Intentions, the way would be briefly thus. That there be Two Rates of Vfury, The one Free, and Generall 32 for All; The other vnder Licence only, to Certaine Perfons, and in Certaine Places of Merchandizing.33 First therefore, let Vfury, in generall, be reduced to Five in the Hundred; 34 And let that Rate be proclaimed to be Free and Current; 35 And let the

²⁹ Had. Tolerarunt, 'have tolerated.'
30 Continuing and Quickning. Ne Commercium intercidat aut languescat,
'that trade may not be interrupted or grow slack.'
31 Common. Omitted in the Latin.
32 Free, and Generall. Permittatur, 'be permitted.'
33 Certaine Places of Merchandizing. Reiphblica locis, ubi Mercatura
fervet, 'places of the State, where commerce is brisk.'
34 Fine in the Hundred. Partem vicesimam. . . . in Annum, 'the

twentieth part for a year.'

Free and Current. Libera omnibus, 'free to all.'

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State³⁶ fhut it felfe out, to take any Penalty for the fame. 87 This will preferue Borrowing from any generall Stop or Drineffe. 38 This will eafe infinite Borrowers in the Countrie. This will, in good Part, raife the Price of Land, because Land purchased at Sixteene veares Purchafe, wil yeeld Six in the Hundred, and somewhat more, whereas this Rate of Interest, Yeelds but Fiue.³⁹ This, by like reason, will Encourage and edge, Industrious and Profitable Improvements;40 Because Many will rather venture in that kinde, then take Fiue in the Hundred,41 especially having beene vsed to greater Profit. Secondly, let there be Certaine Perfons licenfed to Lend, to knowne Merchants, 42 vpon Vfury at a Higher Rate; and let it be with the Cautions following. Let the Rate be, euen with the Merchant himselfe,43 somewhat more easie, then that he vfed formerly to pay: For, by that Meanes, all Borrowers 44 shall have some ease, by this Reformation, be he Merchant, or whofoeuer. Let it be no Banke or Common Stocke, but euery Man be Master of his owne Money: Not that I altogether Mislike Banks, but they will hardly be brooked, in regard of certain suspicions. 45

³⁶ State. Princeps sive Respublica, 'prince or state.'
37 Shut it selfe . . . same. Mulctæ omni renunciet, 'renounce all fines.'
38 Drinesse. Difficultate majore, 'greater difficulty.'
39 Because Land . . but Fiue. Quandoquidem annuus Valor prædiorum, hie apud Nos in Anglia, excedet illam Favoris, ad hanc Proportionem redacti; Quantum annuus Valor sex Librarum, excedit illum quinque tantum, 'since the yearly value of land, with us here in England, will exceed that of interest, reduced to this rate: as the yearly value of £6 exceeds that of £5.'

⁴⁰ Industrious and Profitable Improvements. Industrias Hominum, ad utilia et lucrosa Inventa, 'the industries of men to useful and profitable inventions.'

⁴¹ Fine in the Hundred. Lucro tam exili, quale diximus, ex Vsuris,

^{&#}x27;such a small profit, as we have said, from usury.'

42 After Knowne Merchants. Et non aliis quibuscunque Hominibus,
'and to no other men.'

⁴³ Euen with the Merchant himselfe. Omitted in the Latin.

⁴⁴ Borrowers. Omitted in the Latin.

⁴⁵ Let it be no Banke . . certain suspicions. Omitted in the Latin.

Let the State 46 be answered, some small Matter, for the Licence, and the rest 47 left to the Lender: For if the Abatement be but fmall,48 it will no whit discourage the Lender. For he, for Example, that tooke 49 before Ten or Nine in the Hundred, wil fooner descend to Eight in the Hundred, then give over his Trade of Vfury; And goe from Certaine Gaines, to Gaines of Hazard.50 Let these Licensed Lenders be in Number Indefinite, but restrained to Certaine Principall Cities and Townes of Merchandizing: For then they will be hardly able, to Colour other Mens Moneyes,51 in the Country: So as the Licence of Nine, 52 will not fucke away the current Rate of Fine: For no Man will fend his Moneyes farre off, nor put them into Vnknown Hands.

If it be Objected, that this doth, in a Sort, Authorize Vfury, which before was, in fome places, but Permiffiue: The Answer is; That it is better, to Mitigate Vfury by Declaration, then to fuffer it to Rage by Conninence,53



⁴⁶ State. Princeps sive Respublica, 'prince or state.

⁴⁷ The rest. Reliquum Lucri, 'the rest of the profit.' 48 Abatement be but small. Lucrum Fæneratoris leviter tantum minu-

Abatement be but small. Lucrum Faneratoris teviter tantum minuatur, 'the gain of the lender be only slightly lessened.'
 Tooke. Quotannis accipere solebat, 'was wont to take yearly.'
 Goe from Certaine Gaines, to Gaines of Hazard. Certa cum Incertis commutabit, 'change certainties for uncertainties.'
 Colour other Mens Moneyes. Pratextu Licentiarum, Opportunitatem non habebunt, Pecuniasatiorum pro suis commodandi, 'will not have opportunity, under the pretext of their licence, of lending other men's money as their own.

their own.'
52 Nine. Novem aut octo Librarum Proportio, Licentia munita, 'the rate of £9 or £8 fortified by a licence.'

58 If it be Obiected . . . Conniuance. Omitted in the Latin.

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British Museum Copy.

45. Of Building.1



Oufes are built to Liue in, and not to Looke on: Therefore let Vse bee preferred before Vniformitie; Except where both may be Leaue the Goodly Fabrickes of had.

Houses, for Beautie only, to the Enchanted Pallaces of the Poets: Who build them with fmall Coft. Hee that builds a faire *House*, vpon an ill Seat, committeh Himfelfe to Prison. Neither doe I reckon it an ill Seat, only, where the Aire is Vnwholfome; But likewife where the Aire is vnequall; As you shall fee many fine Seats,4 fet vpon a knop of Ground, Enuironed with Higher Hilles round about it: whereby the Heat of the Sunne is pent in, and the Wind gathereth⁶ as in Troughes; So as you shall have as great Diverfitie of Heat and Cold, as if you Dwelt in feuerall Places. Neither is it ill Aire onely, that maketh an ill Seat, but Ill waves,7 Ill Markets; And, if you will confult with Momus, Ill Neighbours. I fpeake not of many More: Want of Water; Want of Wood, Shade, and Shelter;8 Want of Fruitfulnesse, and mixture of Grounds of feuerall Natures; Want of Prospect; Want of Leuell⁹ Grounds; Want of Places, at fome neare Distance, for Sports of Hunting, Hauking, and Races: Too neare the Sea, too remote; Hauing the Commo-

DE. Dariations in posthumous Latin Edition of 1638.

¹ TITLE. De Ædificiis, 'of buildings.'
² Vniformitie. Pulchritudini, 'beauty.'

3 For Beautie only. Qua Admirationem incutiunt, 'which strike us with

⁴ Fine Seats. Ædes, 'house.'
⁵ Enuironed. Cincto undique, more Theatri, 'girt on all sides like a theatre.' 6 Gathereth. Variis æstibus reciprocantur, 'are moved backwards and

forwards in various tides." 7 Wayes. Viarum et Adituum Incormoditas, 'inconvenience of roads

and approaches.

8 Shelter. Focum, 'fuel.'

Deuell. Planæ et aquabilis, 'level and even.'

ditie¹⁰ of Nauigable Rivers, or the discommoditie of their Ouerflowing; Too farre off from great Cities, which may hinder Businesse; Or too neare them, which Lurcheth all Prouisions, and maketh euery Thing deare; Where a Man hath a great Liuing laid together, 11 and where he is fcanted: 12 All which, as it is impossible, perhaps, to finde together, so it is good to know them, and thinke of them, that a Man may take as many as he can:13 And if he haue feuerall Dwellings, 14 that he fort them fo, that what hee wanteth in the One, hee may finde in the Other, Lucullus answered *Pompev* well: Who when hee faw his Stately Galleries, and Roomes, fo Large and Lightfome, in one of his Houses, said; Surely, an excellent Place for Summer, but how doe you in Winter? Lucullus answered: Why, doe you not think me as Wife, as fome Fowle are, that ever change their Aboad towards the Winter?

To passe from the Seat, to the House it selfe; We will doe as Cicero doth, in the Oratours Art; Who writes Bookes De Oratore, and a Booke entitled Orator: Whereof the Former deliuers the Precepts of the Art; And the Latter the Perfection. We will therefore describe a Princely Pallace, making a briefe Modell thereof. For it is strange to see, now in Europe, fuch Huge Buildings, as the Vatican, and Efcuriall, and fome Others be, and yet fcarce a very Faire Roome in them.

First therefore, I fay, you cannot have a Perfect

Hauing the Commoditie. Nulla commoditas, 'no commodity.'
 Great Liuing laid together. Latifundia ampla possideat, aut acqui

rere fossit, 'possesses or can acquire large estates.'

12 Scanted. Pennas extendere nequeat, 'cannot extend his wings.'

13 All which, as it is impossible ... many as he can. Quæ singula minima eo anima enimeramus, acsi Donus aligua his Incommedis omnibus vacar, tessit, verum ut tot ex illis evitemus, quot evitari concedatur, 'which we have not enumerated, as if any house could be without all these disadvantages. but that we should avoid as many of them as possible.'

14 Haue seuerall Dwellings. Domos plures adificet, 'build several

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Pallace, except you have two feuerall Sides; A Side for the Banquet, as is spoken of in the Booke of Hester; And a Side; for the Houshold:15 The One for Feafts16 and Triumphs, and the Other for Dwelling. I vnderstand both these Sides, to be not onely Returnes, 17 but Parts of the Front: And to be vniforme without, though feuerally Partitioned 18 within; And to be on both Sides, of a Great and Stately Tower, in the Middest of the Front; That as it were, iovneth them together, on either Hand. I would have on the Side of the Banquet, in Front, one only Goodly Roome, aboue Staires, of some Fortie¹⁹ Foot high; And vnder it, a Roome, 20 for a *Drefsing* or *Preparing Place*, at Times of Triumphs.²¹ On the other Side, which is the Houshold Side, I wish it divided at the first, into a Hall, and a Chappell, (with a Partition betweene;)22 Both of good State, and Bigneffe: And those not to goe all the length, but to have, at the further end, a Winter, and a Summer Parler, both Faire.23 And vnder these Roomes,24 A Faire and Large Cellar.25 funcke vnder Ground: And likewife,26 fome Privie Kitchins, with Butteries, and Pantries, and the like. As for the Tower, I would have it two Stories, of Eighteene²⁷ Foot High a peece, aboue the two Wings;

¹⁵ Houshold. Mansionis sivæ Familiæ, 'dwelling or household.'
16 Feasts. Magnificentias et Celebritates, 'splendours and celebrations.'
17 Returnes. Latera Domus, 'sides of the house,'
18 Seuerally Partitioned. Longe diversas, 'far different,'
19 Fortie. Quinquaginta pedes ad minus, 'fifty feet at least.'
20 A Roome. Cameram item alteram, similis longitudinis et latiudinis, 'another room of the same length and width.'
21 Times of 'Triumphs. Festa, Ludos, et ejusmodi Magnificentias; Actores
trium dum se ornent et prent, commode recipiat, 'feasts, plays, and such
magnificences, and to receive conveniently the actors while dressing and
preparing.'

reparing.

22 (With a Partition betweene;) Omitted in the Latin.

23 Both Faire. Omitted in the Latin.

24 After Vinder these Roomes. Excepto Sacello, 'except the hapel.'

25 Faire and Large Cellar. Amplas Cellas, 'large cellars.'

26 And likewise. Quae inserviant, 'which may serve for.'

27 Eighteene. Quindecim, 'fifteen.'

And a Goodly²⁸ Leads upon the Top, railed with²⁹ Statua's interposed: And the same Tower to bee divided into Roomes, as shall be thought fit.30 The Staires likewife, to the vpper Roomes, let them bee vpon a Faire open Newell, 31 and finely raild in, with Images of Wood, cast into a Brasse³² Colour: And a very faire³³ Landing Place at the Top. But this is to be, if you doe not point, any of the lower Roomes, for a Dining Place of Seruants. For otherwife, 34 you shall have the Servants Dinner, after your owne: For the Steame of it will come vp as in a Tunnell. And fo much for the Front. Only, I vnderstand the Height of the first Staires, to be Sixteene35 Foot, which is the Height of the Lower Roome.

Beyond this Front, is there to be a Faire³⁶ Court, but three Sides of it, of a Farre Lower building, then the Front. And in all the foure Corners of that Court, Faire Staire Cases. 37 cast into Turrets, on the Outside. and not within the Row of Buildings themselves. those Towers, are not to be of the Height of the Front; But rather Proportionable to the Lower Building. Let the Court not be paued,38 for that firsketh vp a great Heat in Summer, and much Cold in Winter.

28 Goodly. Æquabili, 'even.'

broad square stones.

Goodly. Acquaott, even.
 Railed with. Per fulcra Laterum, 'by the rails of the sides.'
 As shall be thought fit. Omitted in the Latin.
 A Faire open Newell. Apertos esse, et in se revertentes, et per Sonos sabinde divisos, 'open, turning back, and divided into sixes.'
 Brasse. Inauratis, vel saltem ænei coloris, 'gilded, or at least of a brass colour.'

rass colour:
38 Very faire. Spatiosa et lata, 'roomy and wide.'
34 For otherwise your owne. Omitted in the Latin.
35 Sixteene. Viginti, 'twenty.'
36 Faire. Spatiosam, 'roomy.'
37 Faire Staire. Building. Turres extruantur, I 37 Faire Staire Building. Turres extruantur, Altıtudinem Laterum Prædictorum nonnihil superantes, ad Gradus, quibus in superiora ascendatur, capiendos: Quæ Turres non recipiantur in Planam Ædificii, Sed extra promineant, 'towers should be built, not exceeding the height of the said sides, to hold staircases to ascend to the upper rooms; which towers must not be received into the level of the building but stand beyond it.'

38 Paued. Lapidibus latis quadrangulis substernatur, 'se pived with

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But onely fome Side Alleys, 39 with a Croffe, and the Quarters to Graze, being kept Shorne, but not too neare Shorne. The Row of Returne, 40 on the Banquet Side, Let it be all Stately 41 Galleries; In which Galleries, Let there be42 three, or fine, fine Cupola's, in the Length of it, placed at equal distance: And fine Coloured Windowes of feuerall workes, 43 On the Houshold Side, 44 Chambers of Prefence, and Ordinary Entertainments, with fome Bed-chambers: And let all three Sides, be a double House, without Thorow Lights, on the Sides, 45 that you may have Roomes from the Sunne,46 both for Fore-noone, and Afternoone. Cast it also, that you may have Roomes,47 both for Summer, and Winter: Shadie for Summer, and Warme⁴⁸ for Winter. You shall have sometimes Faire Houses, so full of Glasse. 49 that one cannot tell. where to become, to be out of the Sunne, or Cold: For Inbowed⁵⁰ Windowes, I hold them of good Vfe; (In Cities indeed, Vpright 51 doe better, in respect of the Vniformitie towards the Street;) For they bee Prettie Retiring Places for Conference; And befides, they keepe both the Wind, and Sunne off: For that

11 Stately. Spatiosæ et speciosæ, 'roomy and fair.'

44 After Household Side. Simul cum Latere tertto e regione Frontis, 'together with the third side towards the front.'

³⁹ Alleys. Ambulacra, ex ejusmodi Lapidibus, 'walks of this kind of stone.' 40 The Row of Returne. Latus universum Area, 'the whole side of the court.'

 ⁴² Let there be. Sint in Laquearibus, 'let there be in the ceilings.'
 43 Of seuerall workes. Uti pingantur Columna, Imagines omnigena, Flores, et similia, 'where columns, images of all kinds, flowers and the like are painted.

⁴⁵ Without Thorow Lights, on the Sides. Non translucida, sed ex altera tantum parte fenestrata, 'without through lights, but windowed only on one side.'

46 From the Sunne. In quas Sol non intret, 'in which the sun may not

enter:
47 Roomes. Cubicula et Cameræ, 'bedrooms and chambers.'
48 Warme. Ad frigus arcendum, 'to keep out the cold.'
49 Glasse. Uitro et Fenestris, 'glass and windows.'
50 Inbowed. Prominentes sive arcuatas, 'projecting or embowed.'
51 Vpright. Ad Planum Ædificii, et minime protuberantes, 'in the plane of the buildings and not projecting.'

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which would strike almost thorow the Roome, doth fcarce paffe the Window. But let them be but few,

Foure in the Court, On the Sides onely. 52

Beyond this Court, let there be an Inward Court of the fame Square, and Height; Which is to be enuironed, with the Garden, on all Sides: And in the Infide, Cloistered on all Sides, vpon Decent and Beautifull Arches, as High as the first Story. On the Vnder Story, 53 towards the Garden, Let it be turned 54 to a Grotta, 55 or Place of Shade, or Estimation. And onely haue opening and Windowes towards the Garden; And be Leuell voon the Floare, no whit funke vnder Ground, to avoid all Dampishnesse. 56 And let there be a Fountaine, 57 or some faire Worke of Statua's, in the Middest of this Court: And to be Paued as the other Court was. These Buildings to be for Privie Lodgings, 58 on both Sides; And the End, 59 for Privie Galleries. Whereof, you must fore-see, that one of them,60 be for an Infirmary, if the Prince, or any Speciall Person should be Sicke, with Chambers, 61 Bed-chamber, Anticamera, and Recamera, joyning to it. This vpon the Second Story. Vpon the Ground

58 Vnder Story. Pars autem exterior Solarii inferioris, 'the external part of the lower story.'

54 Turned. Quaterus ad duo Latera, convertatur, 'turned, as to two

vapours of the earth.

59 End. Latus transversum, 'cross side.

⁵² On the Sides onely. Duæ scilicet, ex utroque Latere Areæ, 'two, that is, on each side of the court.'

sides.' 55 Grotta. Specum sive Cavernam, (grottam Moderni vocant), 'cave or cavern (grotto, the moderns call it).'
56 To auoid all Dampishnesse. Et eleganti Pavimento strata, ad Terræ Vapores excludendos, 'and paved with a fair pavement to keep off the

Fountaine. Fons splendidus, 'splendid fountain.'
 Lodgings. Cameris, et Conclavibus, 'chambers and closets.'

⁶⁰ One of them. Aliquee, tam ex Cameris et Conclavibus, quam ex Porticibus, some, as well of the chambers and closets, as of the galleries.

61 With Chambers. Habeant autem Portiones singulæ agris destinator

⁽ut moderni loquuntur), 'let also each portion, intended for the sick, have what the moderns call.'

Story,62 a Faire Gallery, Open, vpon Pillars: And vpon the Third Story 63 likewife, an Open Gallery vpon Pillars, to take the Prospect, and Freshnesse of the Garden. At both Corners of the further Side, by way of Returne,64 Let there be65 two Delicate or Rich Cabinets, 66 Daintily Paued, Richly Hanged, Glafed with Crystalline Glaffe, and a Rich Cupola in the Middest; And all other Elegancie that may be thought vpon.67 In the Vpper Gallery too, I wish that there may be, if the Place will yeeld it, some Fountaines 68 Running, in diuers Places, from the Wall, with fome fine Auoidances. 69 70 And thus much, for the Modell of the Pallace:71 Saue that, you must have, before you come to the Front, three Courts. A Greene 72 Court Plain, with a Wall about it: A Second Court 73 of the fame, 74 but more Garnished, with Little Turrets, or rather Embellishments, vpon the Wall: And a Third

63 Third Story, Supra Solarium tertium, ex omnibus tribus Lateribus, on the third story on all three sides.'

64 By way of Returne. In Solario secundo, 'on the second story.'

65 Let there be. Accommodentur et ornentur, 'let there be fitted and furnished.'

66 Cabinets. Conclavia (Cabinettos Moderni vocant); 'closets (the moderns call them cabinets).'

67 And all other Elegancie that may be thought vpon. Sint autem Con-clavia illa, Rebus curiosis omnigenis, et spectatu dignis, referta, 'let those closets be filled with curious things of all kinds worth looking at.' 68 Fountaines. Fonticulos quosdam aquam emittentes, 'some fountains discharging water.'

69 With some fine Auoidances. Qui per secretos Tubos iterum transeant, which may cross again by secret tubes.'

To After Auoidances. Interior autem pars, in Solario superiore, versus Aream, formetur in Porticus et Ambulacra, bene munita et obducta, ad usum Conalescentium, 'let the inner part, in the upper story, towards the area, be formed into galleries and walls, well walled and covered, for the use of convalescents.

71 After Of the Pallace. Nam de Balneis, et Piscinis non, loquor, 'for I

After Of the Pallace. Nam de Baineis, et Piscinis non, loquor, 'for I say nothing of the baths and ponds.'

72 Greene. Viridis, gramine vestita, 'green, clothed with grass.'

73 Second Court. Et juxta Parietem Arboribus, ordine positis, sata Area altera, 'and another area with trees planted in order near the wall.

74 Of the same. Ejusdem amplitudinis, 'of the same size.'

⁶² Vpon the Ground Story. At Latus transversum Solarii inferioris, versus Hortum convertatur in Porticum, 'but let the transverse side of the ground story towards the garden be converted into a gallery.'

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Court, to make a Square with the Front, but not to be built, 75 nor yet enclosed with a Naked Wall, but enclosed with Tarrasses, Leaded 76 aloft, and fairely garnished, 77 on the three Sides; And Cloistered on the Inside, with Pillars, and not with Arches Below. As for Offices, 78 let them stand at Distance, 79 with some Low 6 Galleries, to passe from them, to the Pallace it Selse.

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⁷⁵ Built. Ædificio aliguo circumdatam, 'surrounded with a building' 16 Leaded. Plumbo, vel Lapide Quadrato, coopertis, 'covered with lead

or square stones.'

To Garnished. Elegantibus Statuis parvis, ænei Coloris, munitis, 'garnished with fair small statues of a brazen colour.'

nished with fair small statues of a brazen colour."

78 Offices. Ad Ædificia omnia, quæ usibus familiaribus inserviunt, 'all the buildings which serve for household purposes."

⁷⁹ Distance. Distantiam, a Palatio ipso, 'distance from the palace itself 89 Low. Humiliores et octecta, 'low and concesses.'

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British Museum Copy.

46. Of Gardens.

OD Almightie1 first Planted a Garden. And indeed, it is the Purest of Humane pleasure. It is the Greatest Refreshment² to the Spirits of Man; Without which Buildings

and Pallaces are but Groffe³ Handy-works: And a Man shall euer fee, that when Ages grow to Ciuility and Elegancie, Men come to Build Stately, fooner then to Garden Finely: 4 As if Gardening 5 were the Greater Perfection. I doe hold it, in the Royall Ordering of Gardens, there ought to be Gardens, for all the Moneths in the Yeare: In which, feuerally, Things of Beautie, may be then in Seafon.⁷ For December, and Ianuary, and the Latter Part of November, you must take such Things, as are Greene all Winter: Holly; Iuy; Bayes; Iuniper; Cipreffe Trees; Eugh; Pine-Apple-Trees; Firre-Trees; Rofe-Mary; Lauander; Periwinckle, the White, the Purple, and the Blene; Germander; Flagges; Orenge-Trees: Limon-Trees; And Mirtles, if they be stirred; 11 And Sweet Marioram warme fet. 12 There followeth, for the latter Part of Ianuary, and February, the Mezerion 13

DE. Variations in posthumous Latin Edition of 1638.

1 God Almightie. Deus ipse, 'God himself.'
2 Is the greatest Refreshment. Reficit et oblectat, 'restores and delights.'
3 Grosse. Nee sapinnt Naturam, 'afid have no savour of nature.'
4 Garden Finely. Ad Hortorum Elegantiam et Amenitatem, 'to elegance and pleasantness of gardens.'
5 Gardening. Elegantia illa Hortorum, 'that elegance of gardens.'
6 Ordering of. Omitted in the Latin.
7 Things of Beautie, may be then in Season. Planta, qua illo Mense florent et vigent, producantur, 'plants, which flourish and bloom in that month, may be grown.'
8 Alter Euch. Buxus, 'box.'

8 After Eugh. Buxus, 'box.'

9 Blene. [A misprint for blue.] Carruleo, 'blue.'
10 Flagges. Irides quoad Folia, 'flags for the leaves.'
11 If they be stirred. Si Calidariis conserventur, 'if they be stoved.'
12 Warme set. Juxta Parietem et versus Solem satus, 'set near the wall

12 Warme set. Juxta Parietem et versus Solem satus, 'set near the wall and towards the sun.'
13 Mezerion. Arbustum Chamæleæ Germanicæ, sive Mezereontis. [John Gerard, M.D., in his Herball, p. 1216. Ed. 1507, fol. calls this "The Spurge Flaxe, or the Dwarffe Bay. . . Which the Dutch men call Mezereon, is a small shrub about two cubits high."]

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Tree, which then bloffomes; Crocus Vernus, both the Yellow, and the Gray; Prime-Rofes; Anemonies; The Early Tulippa; Hiacynthus Orientalis; Camaïris; Frettellaria. For March, There come Violets, specially the Single Blew, which are the Earliest; The Yellow Daffadill; The Dazie; The Almond-Tree in Bloffome; The Peach-Tree in Bloffome; The Cornelian-Tree in Bloffome; Sweet-Briar. In Aprill follow, The Double white Violet; The Wall-flower; 14 The Stock-Gilly-Flower; 15 The Couflip, Flower-De-lices, and Lillies of Natures; Rofe-mary Flowers; The Tulippa; The Double Piony; The Pale¹⁶ Daffadill; The French¹⁷ Honny-Suckle; The Cherry-Tree in Bloffome; The Dammasin, and Plum 18-Trees in Blossome; The White-Thorne¹⁹ in Leafe; The Lelacke Tree. In May, and Iune, come Pincks of all forts, Specially the Blush Pincke; Rofes of all kinds, except the Muske, which comes later; Hony-Suckles; Strawberries; Buglosse; Columbine: The French Mary-gold; 20 Flos Africanus; 21 Cherry-Tree in Fruit; Ribes; Figges in Fruit; Rafpes; Vine Flowers; Lauender in Flowers; The Sweet Satyrian, with the White Flower; Herba Mufoaria; Lilium Conuallium; The Apple-tree in Bloffome. 22 In Iuly, come Gilly-Flowers of all Varieties; Muske Rofes; The Lime-Tree in bloffome; Early Peares, and Plummes in Fruit;²³ Ginnitings; Quadlins.²⁴ In August, come Plummes of all forts in Fruit,25 Peares: Apricockes: Berberies: Filberds: Muske-Melons;

 ¹⁴ Wall-flower. Parietaria lutea, 'yellow wallflower.'
 15 Stock-Gilly-Flower. Leucoium, 'white violet.'
 16 Pale. Verus, 'true.'

Pale. Verus, 'true.'
 French. Sabandicum, 'of Savoy.'
 Plum. Pranus diversi generis, 'plums of various kinds.'
 White-Thorne. Acanthus.
 French Mary-Gold. Omitted in the Latin.
 After Flos Africanus. Simplex, et multiplex, 'single and double.'
 After Apple-tree in Blossome. Flos Cyaneus, 'corn-flower.
 In Fruit. Omitted in the Latin.
 Ginnittings: Quadlins. Poma, 'apples.'
 In Fruit. Omitted in the Latin.

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Monks Hoods,26 of all colours. In September, come Grapes; Apples; Poppies of all colours; Peaches; Melo-Cotones: Nectarines: Cornelians: Wardens; Ouinces. In October, and the beginning of November, come Seruices; Medlars; Bullifes; Rofes Cut or Remoued to come late; 27 Hollyokes; 28 and fuch like. These Particulars are for the Climate of London; But my meaning is Perceiued, that you may have Ver Per-

petuum, a as the Place affords.

And because, the *Breath* of Flowers, is farre Sweeter in the Aire, (where it comes and Goes, like the Warbling of Musick) then in the hand.²⁹ therfore nothing is more fit for that delight, 30 then to know, what be the Flowers, and Plants, 31 that doe best perfume the Aire.³² Rofes Damask and Red,³³ are fast Flowers of their Smels; 34 So that; you may walke by a whole Row of them, and finde Nothing of their Sweetneffe; Yea though it be, in a Mornings Dew. Bayes likewife yeeld no Smell, 35 as they grow. Rosemary little; Nor Sweet-Marioram That, which aboue all Others, yeelds the Sweetest Smell in the Aire, is the Violet; Specially the White-double-Violet, which comes 36 twice a Yeare; About the middle of Aprill, and about Bartholomewtide. 37 Next to that is, the Muske-Rose. Then the

coloured flowers.'

29 In the hand. Eos decerpas manu, 'you pluck them with your hand.'

30 Delight. Delectationem illam, quae ex Odore Florum percipitur, 'that delight which is received from the scent of flowers.'

31 Plants. Plantas, quae adhuc crescentes, nec avulsæ, 'plants which are still growing and not plucked.'

32 Perfume. Maxime emittunt Auras snaves, et Aerem Odore perfundunt, 'mostly emit sweet breath and perfume the air.'

33 After Red. Dunc crescunt, 'while they grow.'

34 After Smels. Nec Aerem lingunt, 'and do not affect the air.'

55 No Smell. Odoris parum, 'little smell.'

56 Comes. Floret, 'flowers.'

57 Bartholomew-tide. Finem Augusti, 'end of August.

a A perpetual spring.

Monks Hoods. Delphinum, sive Consolida Regalis, 'wolf's bane.'
 Cut or Remoued to come late. Serve, 'late.'
 Hollyokes. Malvæ arborescentes flore Roseo, 'hollyoaks with rose-coloured flowers.'

³⁷ Bartholomew-tide. Finem Augusti, 'end of August.

Strawberry Leaues dying, which [yeeld] a most Excellent Cordiall Smell Then the Flower of the Vines; It is a little dust, like the dust of a Bent, 38 which growes vpon the Cluster, in the First comming forth. Then Sweet Briar. Then Wall-Flowers, which are very Delightfull, to be fet vnder a Parler, or Lower Chamber Window. Then Pincks, specially the Matted Pinck, and Cloue Gilly-flower. 39 Then the Flowers of the Lime Tree. Then the Honny-Suckles, fo they be fomewhat a farre off. 40 Of Beane Flowers I fpeake not, because they are Field Flowers. But those which Perfume the Aire most delightfully, not pailed by as the rest, 41 but being Troden vpon and Crushed, are Three: That is Burnet, Wilde-Time, and Water-Mints. Therefore, you are to fet whole Allies of them, to have the Pleasure, when you walke or tread. 42

For Gardens, (Speaking of those, which are indeed Prince-like, as we have done of Buildings) the Contents. ought not well to be, vnder Thirty Acres of Ground: And to be divided into three Parts: A Greene in the Entrance; A Heath⁴³ or Defart in the Going forth; And the Garden in the middest; Besides Alleys, on both Sides. And I like well, that Foure Acres of Ground, be affigned to the Greene; Six to the Heath; Foure and Foure to either Side; 44 And Twelue to the Maine Garden. The Greene hath two pleafures; The one, because nothing is more Pleasant to the Eye, then Greene Graffe kept finely shorne; The other, because it will give you a faire Alley in the midft, by which you may go in front vpon a Stately Hedge, which is to

⁸⁸ Bent. In caule Plantaginis, 'on the stalk of a plantain.'
39 Specially the Matted Pinck, and Cloue Gilly-flower. To quam majores, 'both small and large.' Tam minores,

After A farre off. Tum Flores Lavendulæ, 'the lavender flowers.'
 Not passed by as the rest. Omitted in the Latin.
 Tread. Vt Odorem eorum calcando exprimas, 'that you may press out their smell by treading on them.'

43 Heath. Fruiteetum, 'thicket.'

44 After to either Side. Ad Ambulacra, 'for walks planted with trees.'

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inclose the Garden. But, because the Alley will be long, and in great Heat of the Yeare, or Day, you ought not to buy the shade in the Garden, by Going in the Sunne thorow the Greene, therefore you are, of either Side the Greene, to Plant a Couert Alley, vpon Carpenters Worke, about Twelue Foot in Height, by which you may goe in Shade, into the Garden, As for the Making of Knots, or Figures, with Divers Coloured Earths, that they may lie vnder the Windowes of the House, on that Side, which the Garden flands, they be but Toyes: You may fee as good Sights, 45 many times, in Tarts. The Garden is best to be Square; Incompassed, on all the Foure Sides, with a Stately Arched Hedge. The Arches to be vpon Pillars, of Carpenters Worke, of fome Ten Foot high, and Six Foot broad: And the Spaces between, of the fame Dimension, with the Breadth of the Arch. Ouer the Arches, let there bee an Entire Hedge, of some Foure Foot High, framed 46 also vpon Carpenters Worke: And vpon the Vpper Hedge, ouer every Arch, a little Turret, with a Belly, enough to receive a Cage of *Birds*: And ouer enery *Space*, betweene the *Arches*, fome other little *Figure*, 47 with Broad Plates of *Round* Coloured Glaffe, gilt,48 for the Sunne, to Play vpon. But this Hedge I entend to be, raifed upon a Bancke, not Steepe, but gently Slope, of fome Six Foot, fet all with Flowers. Also I vnderstand, that this Square of the Garden, should not be the whole Breadth of the Ground, but to leaue, on either Side, Ground enough, for diversity of Side Alleys: Vnto which, the Two Couert Alleys of the Greene, may deliuer you. But there must be, no Alleys with Hedges, at either End,

 ⁴⁵ As good Sights. Talia, 'such things.'
 46 Framed. Omitted in the Latin.
 47 Little Figure. Figura inaurata, 'gilt figures.'
 48 Gilt. Omitted in the Latin.

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of this great Inclosure: 49 Not at the Hither End, 50 for letting your Prospect vpon this Faire Hedge from the Greene; Nor at the Further End,51 for letting your Profpect from the Hedge, 52 through the Arches, vpon the Heath.

For the Ordering of the Ground, within the Great Hedge, 53 I leave it to Variety of Deuice; Aduifing neuertheleffe, that whatfoeuer forme you cast it into, first it be not too Busie, or full of Worke. Wherein I, for my part, doe not like Images Cut out in Iuniper, or other Garden stuffe: They be for Children. Little low Hedges, Round, like VVelts,54 with fome Pretty Pyramides, I like well: And in fome Places, Faire Columnes 55 vpon Frames of Carpenters VVorke. 56 I would alfo, haue the Alleys, Spacious and Faire. You may haue Closer 57 Alleys vpon the Side Grounds, but none in the Maine Garden. 58 I wish also, in the very Middle, a Faire Mount, with three Afcents, and Alleys, enough for foure to walke a breaft; Which I would have to be Perfect Circles, without any Bulwarkes, 59 or Imbofments;60 And the Whole Mount, to be Thirty Foot high; And fome fine Banquetting House, with some Chimneys neatly cast, and without too much Glasse.

For Fountaines, they are a great Beauty, and Refreshment; But Pooles marre all, and make the Garden

¹⁾ Either end, of this great Inclosure. Ad Introitum et Exitum Horti, 'at the entrance and outlet of the garden.

to the entrance and outlet of the garden.

90 Hither End. Introitu, 'entrance.'

15 Further End. Exitu, 'outlet.'

15 From the Hedge. Omitted in the Latin.

15 Great Hedge. Claustrum Sepis, 'boundary of the hedge.'

15 Welts. Fimbriarum, 'a fringe [or border].'

15 Faire Columnes. Columnus etiam, et l'yramides altas, 'high columns

also and pyramids.

 ³⁶ After Carpenters Worke. In aliquibus locis sparsas, Sepibus vestitas,
 'set apart in places covered with hedges.'
 'T Closer. Angustiora et obtectiora, 'narrower and more concealed.'
 Maine Garden. In Pomario Horti pracipui, 'in the outside of the main garden.'

Bulwarkes. Figuris Propugnaculorum, 'figures of bulwarks.'
 Imbosments. Omitted in the Latin.

vnwholefome, and full of Flies, and Frogs. Fountaines I intend to be of two Natures: The One, that Sprinckleth or Spouteth Water; 61 The Other a Faire Receipt of Water, 62 of some Thirty or Forty Foot Square, but without Fish, or Slime, or Mud. For the first, the Ornaments of Images Gilt, or of Marble, which are in vfe, doe well: But the maine Matter is fo to Conuey the Water, as it neuer Stay,63 either in the Bowles, or in the Cesterne; That the Water be neuer by Rest Difcoloured, Greene, or Red, or the like; Or gather any Mossinesse or Putrefaction. Besides that, it is to be cleanfed euery day 64 by the Hand. Also fome Steps up to it, and fome Fine Pauement about it, doth well. As for the other Kinde of Fountaine, which we may call a Bathing Poole, it may admit much Curiofity, and Beauty; wherewith we will not trouble our felues: As, that the Bottome be finely Paued,65 And with Images: The fides likewife; And withall Embellished with Coloured Glasse, and such Things of Lustre; Encompassed also, with fine Railes 66 of Low Statua's. But the Maine Point, is the fame, which we mentioned, in the former Kinde of Fountaine; which is, that the Water be in Perpetuall Motion, Fed by a Water higher then the Poole, and Deliuered into it by faire Spouts, and then discharged away vnder Ground, by fome Equalitie of Bores, that it flay little. And for fine Deuices, of Arching Water without Spilling, and Making it rife in feuerall Formes. (of Feathers, Drinking Glasses, Canopies, and the like, 67)

 ⁶¹ After Spouteth Water. Cum Crateribus suis, 'with its basins.'
 62 Water. Aquæ puræ, 'pure water.'
 63 Neuer Stay. Perpetuo fluat, Nec consistat, 'flows continuously and does not stay.

⁶⁴ Euery day. Quotidie, ut maneat limpida, 'every day, that it may

remain clear.

65 Finely Paued. Decoratum, 'adorned with.'

66 Fine Railes. Clausura, 'enclosure.'

67 And the like. Campanarum et similium; Etiam rupes artificiosas, et hujusmodi, 'bells and the like;) also, artificial rock and the like.'

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they be pretty things to looke on, but Nothing to Health and Sweetneffe.

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For the Heath, which was the Third Part of our Plot, I wish it to be framed, as much as may be, to a Naturall wildnesse. Trees I would have none in it;68 But fome Thickets, made onely of Sweet-Briar, and Honny-fuckle, and some Wilde Vine amongst; And the Ground fet with Violets, Strawberries, and Prime-Roses. For these are Sweet, 69 and prosper in the Shade. And thefe to be in the *Heath*, here and there, not in any Order. 70 I like also little Heaps, in the Nature of Mole-hils, (fuch as are in Wilde Heaths) to be fet, some with Wilde Thyme; Some with Pincks; Some with Germander, that gives a good Flower to the Eye; Some with Periwinckle; Some with Violets; Some with Strawberries; Some with Couslips; Some with Daifies; Some with Red-Rofes; Some with Lilium Conuallium; Some with Sweet-Williams Red; Some with Beares-Foot; And the like Low Flowers, being withal Sweet, and Sightly. Part of which Heapes, to be with Standards, of little Bushes, 71 prickt vpon their Top, and Part without. The Standards to be Roses; Iuniper; Holly; Beare-berries (but here and there, because of the Smell of their Blossome;)72 Red

⁶⁸ After None in it. Nisi quod in aliquibus locis, erigi pracipio Arborum series, qua in Vertice Ambulacra contineant, Ramis Arborum cooperta, cum Fenestris. Subjaceat autem Pars Soli Floribus Odoris suavis abunde consita, qui Auras in superius exhalent; Alias Fruticetum apertum esse sine Arboribus velim, 'except that in some places I should direct rows of trees to be planted, which may cover the paths with their top branches, leaving openings: a part, moreover, should be exposed to the sun, and plentifully planted with flowers of sweet odours, to exhale their breath above. Otherwise, I should have the heath open without trees.'
69 Sweet "Aucundum stirant Odorum" breathe a pleasant smell.'

wise, I should have the heath open without trees.'

69 Sweet. Jucundum spirant Odorem, 'breathe a pleasant smell.'

70 And these are to be in the Heath, here and there, not in any Order.

Dumeta antem, et Ambulacra super Arbores, spargi volumus ad placitum, non ordine aliquo collocari, 'thickets and the walks without the trees, I would have scattered according to pleasure, not placed in any order.'

71 Standards, of little Bushes. Fruities, 'shrubs.'

72 Smell of their Blossome. Odoris gravitatem, 'strength of their smell.'

Currans; Goofe-berries; Rofe-Mary; Bayes; Sweet-Briar; and fuch like. But thefe *Standards*, to be kept with Cutting, that they grow not out of Courfe.

For the Side Grounds, you are to fill them with Varietie of Alleys, Private, to give a full Shade; Some of them, wherefoeuer the Sun be. You are to frame fome of them likewife for Shelter, that when the Wind blows Sharpe, you may walke, as in a Gallery. And those Alleys must be likewise hedged, at both Ends, to keepe out the Wind; And these Closer Alleys, must bee euer finely Grauelled, and no Graffe, because of Going wet. In many of these Alleys likewise, you are to fet Fruit-Trees of all Sorts; As well vpon the Walles, as in Ranges. And this would be generally observed, that the Borders, 73 wherin you plant your Fruit-Trees, be Faire 74 and Large, and Low, and not Steepe; And Set with Fine Flowers, but thin and fparingly, 75 lest they Deceiue 76 the Trees. At the End of both the Side Grounds, I would have a Mount of fome Pretty Height, leaving the Wall of the Enclosure, Breft high, to looke abroad into the Fields.

For the Maine Garden, I doe not Deny, but there should be some Faire 77 Alleys, ranged on both Sides, with Fruit Trees; And some Pretty Tufts of Fruit Trees, And Arbours with Seats, fet in some Decent Order: But these to be, by no Meanes, set too thicke: But to leave the Maine Garden, fo as it be not close. but the Aire Open and Free. For as for Shade, I would have you rest, vpon the Alleys of the Side Grounds, there to walke, if you be Disposed, in the Heat of the Yeare, 78 or day; But to make Account,

⁷³ Borders. Terra elevata, 'raised ground.'74 Faire. Omitted in the Latin.

⁷⁵ Sparingly. Omitted in the Latin.
76 Deceiue. Succo defraudent, 'rob of moisture.'
77 Faire. Minime angusta, 'not narrow.'
78 After Of the Yeare. Vernas, et Autumnales, 'spring and autumn.'

that the Maine Garden, is for the more Temperate Parts of the yeare; And in the Heat of Summer, for the Morning, and the Euening, or Ouer-cast Daves.

For Auiaries, I like them not, except they be of that Largenesse, as they may be Turffed, and have Living Plants, and Bushes, set in them; That the Birds may haue more Scope, 79 and Natural Neftling, 80 and that no Fouleneffe appeare, in the Floare of the Auiary. 81 So I have made a Platform of a Princely Garden, Partly by Precept, Partly by Drawing, not a Modell, but fome generall Lines of it;82 And in this I have fpared for no Cost. But it is Nothing, for Great Princes, that for the most Part, taking Aduice with Workmen,83 with no Leffe Coft,84 fet their Things together; And fometimes adde Statua's, and fuch Things, for State, and Magnificence, but nothing to the true Pleasure 85 of a Garden.



⁷³ Scope. Liberius volitent, et se per diversa oblectare, 'fly about freely and enjoy themselves in divers ways.

aud enjoy themselves in divers ways."

80 Naturall Nestling. Componere, 'settle.'

81 This paragraph follows after Aviary. Quantum vero ad Ambulacra in Clivis, et variis Ascensibus amanis conficienda, illa Nature Dona sunt, nee ubique extrui possunt: Nos autem ea possuinus, quae omni loco correniunt, 'as to walks to be made on a slope, and with various pleasing ascents, these are the gifts of nature, and cannot be made everywhere. We, however, have mentioned what suits every place,'

82 By Drawing, not a Modell. but some generall Lines of it. Partim modulo generali, sed minime accurato, 'partly by a general model but not a detailed one.'

83 Workmen. Hartulanes 'gardeners'.

⁸³ Workmen. Hortulanos, 'gardeners.'
84 Cost. Sumptu, parum cum Judicio, 'cost, with little judgment.'
85 Pleasure. Voluptatem et Amænitatem, 'pleasure and delight.'

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British Museum Copy.

57. Of Anger.



O feeke to extinguish Anger vtterly, is but a Brauery of the Stoickes. We have better Oracles: Be Angry, but Sinne not. Let not the Sunne goe down vpon your Anger.a An-

ger must be limited, and confined, both in Race, and in Time. We will first speake, How the Naturall Inclination, and Habit, To be Angry, may be attempted. and calmed. Secondly, How the Particular Motions of Anger, may be repressed, or at least refrained from doing Mischiefe. Thirdly, How to raise Anger, or

appeafe Anger in Another.

For the first; There is no other Way, but to Meditate and Ruminate² well, vpon the Effects³ of Anger, how it troubles4 Mans life. And the best Time, to doe this, is, to looke backe vpon Anger, when the Fitt is throughly ouer. Seneca faith well; That Anger is like Ruine, which breakes it Selfe, upon that it fall's.b The Scripture exhorteth vs; To poffeffe our Soules in Patience. Whosoeuer is out of Patience, is out of Posfession of his Soule. Men must not turne Bees;

-Animafque in vulnere ponunt.d

Anger is certainly a kinde of Basenesse: As it appeares well, in the Weakneffe of those Subjects, in

a Ephes. iv. 26.

b Seneca. De Ira. i. I.

c Luke. xxi. 19

d And lay down their lives in the wound. Virgil. Georgics. iv. 238.

EE. Variations in posthumous Latin Edition of 1838.

1 Limited, and confined. Limites Ira apponendi sunt, 'limits must be set to anger. Meditate and Ruminate. Serio in animo revolvas, 'turn over seriously

in your mind.'

³ Effects. Mala et Calamitates, 'evils and disasters.

⁴ Troubles. Vehementer perturbat et infestat, 'violently troubles and

attacks.

6 Turne. Imitari, 'imitate.'

Basenesse. Res humilis est, et infra Dignitatem Hominis, 'is a base thing and beneath the dignity of man.'

whom it reignes:8 Children, Women, Old Folkes, Sicke Folkes. Onely Men must beware,9 that they carry their Anger, rather with Scorne, then with Feare: 10 So that they may feeme rather, to be aboue the Iniury, then below it: which is a Thing eafily done, if a Man will give Law to himfelfe in it.11

For the Second Point; The Causes and Motives of Anger, are chiefly three. First, to be too Sensible of Hurt: For no Man is Angry, that Feeles not himfelfe Hurt: And therefore Tender and Delicate Persons, must needs be oft Angry: They have so many Things to trouble them; Which more Robust Natures have little Senfe of. The next is, the Apprehension and Construction, of the Iniury offred, 12 to be, in the Circumftances thereof, full of 13 Contempt. For Contempt 14 is that which putteth an Edge vpon 15 Anger, as much, 16 or more, then the Hurt it felfe. And therefore, when Men are Ingenious, in picking out Circumflances of Contempt, 17 they doe kindle their Anger much. Laftly, Opinion of the Touch of a Mans Reputation, 18 doth multiply and fharpen Anger. Wherein the Remedy¹⁹ is, that a Man should haue, as

⁸ As it appeares reignes. Hoc liquebit, si illos intueamur in quibus Ira regnat: Qui plerunque ex Infirmioribus saut, 'this will be plain, if we look at those in whom anger reigns, who are generally of the weaker sort.'

Beware. Cum irasci contigerit, caveant Homines (si modo Dignitatis sua velint esse memores), 'men must beware, when they happen to be angry, if at least they wish to remember their dignity.'
 Feare. Metu corum quibus irascuntur, 'fear of those with whom they

are angry.

¹¹ Giue Law to himselfe in it. Iram suam, paululum regat, et inflectat, 'will gradually rule and bend his anger.'

will gradually rule and bend his anger.'

12 Apprehension and Construction, of the Iniury offred. Si quis Curicsus et perspicax sit, in Interpretatione Injuriae illata, 'if one is particular and sharpsighted in the interpretation of an injury offered to him.'

13 Full of. Spiraret, 'breathe.'

14 Contempt. Opinio contemptus, 'opinion of contempt.'

15 Putteth an Edge yon. Excitat et acuit, 'rouses and sharpens,'

16 As much. Omitted in the Latin.

17 In picking out (incumstances of Contempt.). Addicta 'in that.'

¹⁷ In picking out Circumstances of Contempt. Ad ista, 'in that.'
18 Opinion . . . Reputation. Opinio Contumeliæ, sive quod Existimatio Hominis per consequentiam lædatur et perstringatur, 'opinion of insult, or that the reputation of the man will be in consequence hurt and dulled.

¹⁹ Ken.edy. himiair m fracentinin, present remedy.

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Confaluo was wont to fav, Telam Honoris crafsiorem.a But in all Refrainings of Anger, it is the best Remedy to win Time; And to make a Mans Selfe beleeue, that the Opportunity of his Reuenge is not yet come: But that he foresees a Time20 for it; And so to still Himfelfe²¹ in the meane Time, and referue it.²²

To containe Anger from Mischiefe,23 though it take hold of a Man, there be two Things, whereof you must have speciall Caution. The one, of extreme Bitterneffe of Words; Especially, if they be Aculeate, and Proper:24 For Communia Maledictab are nothing fo much: 25 And againe, that in Anger, a Man reueale no Secrets: For that makes him not fit for Society. The other, that you doe not peremptorily breake off, in any Businesse, in a Fit of Anger: But howsoeuer you Thew Bitternes, 26 do not Act any thing, that is not Reuocable.

For Raifing and Appeafing Anger in Another; It is done chiefly, by Choofing 27 of Times. When Men are frowardest and worst disposed, to incense them.²⁸ Againe, by gathering²⁹ (as was touched before) all that you can finde out, to aggrauate 30 the Contempt. And the two Remedies 31 are by the Con-

a A thicker web of honour.

b Common revilings.

²⁰ Foresees a Time. Sed instare, quasi ad manum, Opportunitatem aliquam majorem, 'but that a greater opportunity is just at hand.'

Himselfe. Motum animi, 'the working of his mind.'

Reserve it. Se in Tempus aliud servare, 'reserve himself for another

 ²³ Containe Anger from Mischiefe. Ut citra noxam erumpat, 'that it may break out without doing mischief.'
 ²⁴ Aculeate and Proper. Aculeatorum et ei, quem ferimus, propriorum,

^{&#}x27;stinging and appropriate to him whom we attack.'

'star and appropriate to him whom we attack.'

'star nothing so much. Mordent minus, 'bite less.'

'star nothing so much. Mordent minus, 'bite less.'

'star nothing so much. Mordent minus, 'bite less.'

'star losses the Bitternes. Irva framula laxet, 'loose the bridle of anger.'

'star losses the wise choosing.'

'star losses them. Tempus est Iram incendendi, 'is the time to kindle

anger.'
29 Gathering. Ut antea diximus, decerpendo et inculcando, 'as we have said before by gathering and insisting on.'

³⁰ Aggrauate. Arguere aut aggravare, 'prove or aggravate.' 31 The two Remedies. Ira sedatur, 'anger is calmed.

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traries. The Former, to take good 32 Times, when first to relate to a Man, an Angry 33 Businesse: For the first Impression is much; And the other is, to seuer, as much as may be, the Construction of 84 the Iniury, from the Point of 35 Contempt: Imputing it, to Misunderstanding, Feare, Passion, 36 or what you will.

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³² Good. Serena, et ad Hilaritatem prona, 'calm and disposed to cheerfulness.

³³ Angry. Ingratum, et ad Iracundiam provocans, 'unpleasant and provocative of anger.'

34 The Construction of. Omitted in the Latin.

³⁵ The Point of. Omitted in the Latin. 36 Passion. Animi Concussioni repentinæ, 'sudden excitement of the mind.

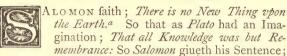
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58. Of Dicissitude of Things.



That all Noueltie is but Oblinion. Whereby you may fee, that the Riuer of Lethe, runneth as well aboue Ground, as below. There is an abstrufe1 Astrologer that faith; If it were not, for two things, that are Constant; (The one is, that the Fixed Starres ever stand at like distance, one from another, and neuer come nearer together, nor goe further afunder; The other, that the Diurnall Motion perpetually keepeth Time:2) No Indiuiduall would last one Moment. Certain it is, that the Matter, is in a Perpetuall Flux, and neuer at a Stay. The great Winding-sheets, that burie all Things in Obliuion, are two; Deluges, and Earth-quakes. As for Conflagrations, and great Droughts, they doe not meerely dispeople, and destroy.3 Phaetons Carre went but a day. And the Three yeares Drought, in the time of Elias, was but Particular, and left People⁵ Aliue. As for the great Burnings by Lightnings, which are often in the West Indies, they are but narrow.6 But in the other two Destructions, by Deluge, and Earth-quake, it is further to be noted, that the Remnant of People, which hap to be referued, are commonly Ignorant and Mountanous People, that can

a Eccles. i. 9.

b Phædrus. 72 e. Menæ. 81 d.

¹ Abstruse. Abstrusus, et parum notus, 'abstruse and little known.'
2 Perpetually keepeth Time. Non variet. 'does not vary.'
3 And destroy. Aut destruunt, 'or destroy.'
4 Phaetons Carre went but a day. Fabula Phaetontis, Brevitatem Confagrationis, ad unius tantum Diet spatium, referesentavit, 'the fable of Phaeton represented the shortness of a conflagration, lasting only for one day.'

S People. Multos, 'many.'

6 After Narrow. Nec magna spatia occupant. Pestilentias etiam prætereo, quia nec illæ totaliter absorbent, 'nor occupy a great space. Pestilences also I pass over, as they do not totally destroy.

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giue no Account, of the Time past: So that the Obliuion is all one, as if none had beene left. If you confider well, of the People of the West Indies,8 it is very probable, that they are a Newer, or a Younger People, then the People of the Old World. And it is much more likely, that the Destruction, that hath heretofore been there, was not by Earth-quakes, (As the Ægyptian Priest told Solon, concerning the Island of Atlantis; That it was fwallowed by an Earth-quake;) But rather, that it was defolated,9 by a Particular Deluge. For Earth-quakes are feldome in those Parts. But on the other fide, they have fuch Powring 10 Rivers, as the Rivers of Afia, and Affrick, and Europe, are but Brookes to them. Their Andes likewife, or Mountaines, are farre higher, then those with us; Whereby it feemes, that the Remnants of Generation of Men, were, in fuch a Particular Deluge, faued. As for the Observation, that Macciavel hath, that the Iealoufie¹¹ of Secls, doth much extinguish the Memory of Things; a Traducing Gregory the Great, that he did, what in him lay, to extinguish all Heathen Antiquities; I doe not finde, that those Zeales, doe any great Effects, nor last long: As it appeared in the Succesfion of Sabinian, who did review the former Antiquities. 12

The Vicitsitude or Mutations, in the Superiour Globe, are no fit Matter, for this prefent Argument. It may be, Plato's great Yeare, if the World should last fo long, 13 would have some Effect; Not in renew-

a Macchiavelli, Discorsi sopra la prima Deca di Tito Livio. ii. 5.

⁷ Giue no Account. Memoriam Posteris tradere, 'hand down the recollection to their descendants.'

8 Of the People of the West Indies. Indorum Occidentalium Conastionem, 'condition of the West Indians.'

9 Desolated. Omitted in the Latin.

10 Powring. Immania et vasta, 'strong and great.'

11 Iealousie. Zelotypiam et Æmulationem, 'jealousy and rivalry.'

12 After Former Antiquities. Tunn vero prohibita, licet Tenebris cooperta, obrepant tamen, et suas nanciscuntur Periodos, 'then, indeed, what is forbidden, even if covered in darkness, creeps out and has its time.'

13 Last so long. Nisi Mundus ante Dissolutionic esset destinatus, 'unless

¹³ Last so long. Nisi Mundus ante Dissolutioni esset destinatus, 'unless the world is destined to dissolution before that,

ing the State of like Individuals (for that is the Fume 14 of those, that conceiue the Celestiall Bodies, haue more accurate Influences, vpon thefe Things below, then indeed they have) but in groffe. 15 Comets, out of question, have likewise Power and Effect,16 ouer the Groffe and Masse of Things:17 But they are rather gazed vpon, and waited vpon in their Iourney, then wifely observed in their Effects;18 Specially in their Refpective Effects; That is, what Kinde of *Comet*, for Magnitude, Colour, ¹⁹ Version of the Beames, Placing in the Region of Heauen,20 or Lasting, produceth what Kinde of Effects.

There is a Toy, which I have heard, and I would not haue it giuen ouer, but waited vpon a little. They fay, it is observed, in the Low Countries (I know not in what Part 21) that Euery Fiue and Thirtie years. The fame Kinde and Sute of Years and Weathers, comes about againe: As Great Frosts, Great Wet, Great Droughts, Warme Winters, Summers with little Heat, and the like: And they call it the Prime.22 It is a Thing, I doe the rather mention, because computing backwards, I have found fome Concurrence. 23

But to leave these Points of Nature, and to come to Men. The greatest Vicifsitude of Things amongst

¹⁴ Fume. Fumus et Vanitas, 'fume and vanity.'
15 Grosse, Summis et Massis rerum, 'the sum and mass of things.'
16 Haue... Power and Effect. Aliquid operantur, 'work something.'
17 After Masse of Things. Verum Homines, ut nunc est, indiligentes, aut curiosi, circa eos sunt, 'but men at present are not careful or curious about

them. 18 But they are rather . . . in their Effects. Eosque potius mirabundi spectant; Atque Ilinevaria eorunden conficient, quam Effectus eorum prudenter et sobrie notant, 'and they rather gaze at them with wonder and make records of their path, than wisely and soberly observe their effects.'

19 Colour. Coloris et Lucis, 'colour and light.'

20 After Heauen. Tempestatus Anni; Semitæ aut Cursus, 'the season of the year; the path or course.'

21 I know not in what Part. Omitted in the Latin.

²¹ I know not in what Part. Omitted in the Latin.
22 It the Prime. Hujusmodi Circulum Annorum, Primam, 'this kind of circle of the years—the prime.'
23 Concurrence. Congruentiam; Haud exactam sane, sed non multum

discrepantem, 'concurrence; not really exact, but not very different,'

V.

Men, is the Vicifsitude of Sects, and Religions. For those Orbs rule in Mens Minds most. The True Religion is built upon a Rocke; The Rest are tost upon the Waues of Time. To fpeake therefore, of the Caufes of New Sects: And to give some Counfell concerning them; As farre, as the Weaknesse of Humane Iudgement, can give stay²⁴ to fo great Revolutions.

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When the Religion formerly 25 received, is rent by Discords: And when the Holinesse of the Professours of Religion is decayed, and full of Scandall; And withall the Times be Stupid, Ignorant, and Barbarous; you may doubt 26 the Springing vp of a New Sect; If then also there should arise, any Extrauagant and Strange²⁷ Spirit, to make himfelfe Authour thereof.²⁸ All which Points held, when Mahomet published his Law. If a New Sect²⁹ have not two Properties, feare it not: For it will not spread. The one is, the Supplanting,30 or the opposing, of Authority established: For Nothing is more Popular then that.³¹ The other is, the Giuing Licence³² to Pleafures, and a Voluptuous Life. For as for Speculative Herefies (fuch as were in Ancient Times the Arrians, and now the Arminians) though they worke mightily vpon Mens Wits, yet they doe not produce any great Alterations in States: except it be by the Helpe of Ciuill Occasions. There be three Manner of Plantations of New Sects. By the Power of Signes³³ and Miracles: By the Eloquence and Wisedome of Speech and Perswasion:34 And by

²⁴ Giue stay. Moras injicere, aut Remedia exhibere, 'give stay or apply remedies.

²⁵ Formerly. Omitted in the Latin.
26 Doubt. Metuendum, 'fear.'
27 Strange. Paradoxa spirans, 'breathing paradoxes.'
28 To make himselfe Author thereof. Omitted in the Latin.
29 New Sect. Secta nova, licet pullulet, 'a new sect though it is pro-

Supplanting, Omitted in the Latin.
 Then that. Quam Principatus, et Politias, convellere, 'than to attack sovereignties and governments.'

³² Giuing Licence. Porta aperta, 'an open gate.'

83 Signes. Omitted in the Latin.

84 And Wisedome of Speech and Perswasion. Omitted in the Latin.

the Sword. For Martyrdomes, I reckon them amongst Miracles: Because they seeme to exceed, the Strength of Human Nature: And I may doe the like of Superlative and Admirable Holineffe of Life, Surely, there is no better Way, to stop the Rising of New Sects, and Schifmes; then To reforme Abuses; To compound the fmaller Differences; To proceed 35 mildly, and not with Sanguinary Perfecutions; And rather to take off36 the Principall Authours, by Winning and Aduancing then:, then to enrage them by Violence and Bitterneffe.

The Changes and Viscissitude in Worres are many: But chiefly in three Things; In the Seats or Stages³⁷ of the Warre; In the Weapons; And in the Manner of the Conduct.38 Warres in ancient Time, feemed more to moue from East to West: For the Persians, Afsyrians, Arabians, Tartars, (which were the Inuaders) were all Easterne People. It is true, the Gaules were Westerne: But we reade but of two Incursions of theirs; The one to Gallo-Grecia, the other to Rome. But East and West have no certaine Points of Heaven: And no more have the Warres, either from the East, or West, any Certainty of Observation. But North and South are fixed:39 And it hath feldome or neuer been feene, that the farre Southern People haue inuaded the Northern, but contrariwife. Whereby it is manifest, that the Northern Tract of the World, is in Nature the more Martiall Region: Be it, in respect of the Stars of that Hemisphere; Or of the great Continents that are vpon the North, whereas the South Part, for ought that is knowne, is almost all Sea; Or (which is most apparent) of the Cold of the Northern Parts, which is that, which without Aid of Discipline,40

³⁵ Proceed. A principio procedere, 'proceed from the beginning.'
36 Take off. Mollire adque allicere, 'soothe and entice.'
37 Or Stages. Omitted in the Latin.
38 Manner of the Conduct. Disciplina Militari, 'military training'
39 Fixed. Natura f.xi, 'fixed by nature.'
40 Without Aid of Discipline. Absque alia Caussa quacunque, 'without any other cause.'

doth make the Bodies hardest, and the Courages

Vpon the Breaking and Shiuering of a great State 42 and Empire, you may be fure to have Warres. For great Empires, while they fland, doe eneruate and destroy the Forces of the Natiues, which they have fubdued, resting vpon their owne Protecting Forces: And then when they faile alfo, all goes to ruine, and they become a Prey.43 So was it, in the Decay of the Roman Empire; And likewise, in the Empire of Almaigne, after Charles the Great, euery Bird taking a Fether; And were not unlike to befall to Spaine, if it fhould break.44 The great Accessions 45 and Vnions of Kingdomes, doe likewife stirre vp Warres. For when a State growes to an Ouer-power, it is like a great Floud. 46 that will be fure to overflow. As it hath been feene, in the States of Rome, Turky, Spaine, and others. Looke when the World hath fewest Barbarous Peoples, 47 but fuch as commonly will not marry or generate, except they know meanes to liue;48 (As it is almost every where at this day, except Tartary) there is no Danger of Inundations⁴⁹ of People: But when there be great Shoales of People, which goe on to populate, without forefeeing⁵⁰ Meanes of Life⁵¹ and Suftentation, it is of Necessity, that once in an Age or

⁴¹ After Warmest. Ut liquet in Populo Araucensi; Qui ad ulteriora Austri positi, omnibus Peruviensibus, Fortitudine longe præcellunt, 'as is seen in the people of Arauco, who seated at the farthest east, far surpass all the Peruvians in courage.'

42 State. Omitted in the Latin.

43 Prey. Aliis Gentibus in prædam, 'a prey to other nations.'

44 Break. Viribus decideret, 'fail in strength.'

45 Accessions. Accessiones Ditionum, 'accessions of dominion.'

46 Great Floud. Fluvio intunescenti, 'a swelling flood.'

47 After. Barbarous Peoples. Sed Civiliores fere sunt, 'but are mostly

more civilized.

⁴⁸ Liue. Familiam alendi, aut saltem Victum parandi, 'raise a family or at least get food.'

⁴⁹ Inundations. Inundationibus aut Migrationibus, 'inundations or migrations.'

⁵⁰ Without foreseeing. In futurum minime solliciti, 'not careful for the

¹ Meanes of Life. Fortunis, 'fortunes.'

two, they discharge a Portion of their People vpon other Nations: 52 Which the ancient Northern People. were wont to doe by Lot: Casting Lots, what Part should stay at home, and what should seeke their Fortunes 53 When a Warre-like State growes Soft and Effeminate, they may be fure of a Warre, 54 For commonly fuch States are growne rich, in the time of their Degenerating; And fo the Prey inuiteth, and

their Decay in Valour encourageth a Warre.

As for the Weapons, 55 it 56 hardly falleth vnder Rule and Observation: yet we see, even they have Returnes and Vicifsitudes. For certain it is, that Ordnance⁵⁷ was known 58 in the Citty of the Oxidrakes in India: And was that, which the Macedonians called 59 Thunder and Lightning, and Magicke. And it is well knowne. that the vie of Ordnance 60 hath been in China, aboue 2000. yeares. The Conditions of Weapons, and their Improvement are; First, the Fetching a farre of:61 For that outruns the Danger:62 As it is feene in Ordnance and Muskets. Secondly, the Strength of the Percuffion; wherin likewife Ordnance doe exceed all Arietations, 63 and ancient Inventions. The third is, the commodious64 vse of them: As that they may

53 Seeke their Fortunes. Alio migraret, 'migrate elsewhere.'
 54 A Warre. Gentes alias, ad eosdem invadendos, 'other nations to in-

vade them. 55 Weapons. Armorum et Telorum Genus, 'the kind of arms and missile

weapons.

t. Illorum Mutationes, 'their changes.'
Ordnance. Tormenta Enea, 'brass ordnance.'
Known. Tempore Alexandri Magni, cognita, 'known in the time of Alexander the Great.'

59 Called. Habita et appellata, 'considered and called.'

60 Ordnance. Pulveris Pyrii, et Tormentorum igneorum, 'gunpowder and fire-arms.'

61 Fetching a farre off. Ad Distantiam majorem feriant, 'striking at a greater distance.

⁵² Discharge . . . nations. Exonerent, et novas Sedes quærant; et sic alias Nationes invadant, 'discharge, and seek new settlements, and so invade other nations.'

greater distance.

⁶² Danger. Periculum, ab Hostili parte, 'danger from the enemy.'

⁶³ Arietations. Arietationes. 'battering-rams'

⁶⁴ Commodious. Commodior et facilior sit; Id quod etiam Tormentis
Ignets Majoribus competit, 'more commodious and easy; which also belongs to ordnance.'

ferue in all Wethers; That the Carriage may be Light

and Manageable; and the like.

For the Conduct of the Warre: At the first, Men rested extremely vpon Number: They did put the Warres likewise vpon Maine Force, and Valour; Pointing Dayes⁶⁵ for Pitched Fields, and fo trying it out, voon an euen Match: And they were more ignorant in Ranging and Arraying their Battailes. After they grew to rest vpon Number, rather Competent, then Vast: They grew to Advantages of Place, Cunning Divertions, and the like: And they grew more skilful in the Ordering of their Battailes.

In the Youth of a State, Armes doe flourish: In the Middle Age of a State, Learning; And then both of them together for a time: In the Declining Age of a State, Mechanicall Arts and Merchandize. Learning hath his Infancy, when it is but beginning,66 and almost Childish: Then his Youth, when it is Luxuriant and Iuuenile; Then his Strength of yeares, when it is Solide and Reduced: And laftly, his old Age, when it waxeth Dry and Exhaust.67 But it is not good, to looke too long, vpon thefe turning 68 Wheeles of Vicifsitude, left we become Giddy. As for the Philology of them, 69 that is but a Circle of Tales, 70 and therefore not fit for this Writing.

66 Beginning. Leviusculæ, 'trifling.'
67 After Exhaust. Manente etiam Garrulitate, 'the loquaciousness also remaining.'

⁸⁵ Pointing Dayes. Dies et Loca constituebant, 'appointing days and

⁶⁸ Turning. Omitted in the Latin.
69 Of them. Que in hoc Argumento, ut plurimum, versatur, 'which is much used on this subject.'

⁷⁰ Circle of Tales. Narratiuncularum et Observationum futilium: Congeries q aædam, 'a mass of tales and useless observations.'



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Of Fame, a fragment.



FRAGMENT OF AN ESSAY. OF FAME



He Poets make Fame a Monster. They defcribe her, in Part, finely, and elegantly; and, in part, grauely, and fententiously. They fay, look how many Feathers she hath, so many Eyes she hath vnderneath: So many Tongues; So many Voyces; She

pricks up fo many Ears.

This is a flourish: There follow excellent Parables; As that, the gathereth strength in going; That the goeth upon the ground, and yet hideth her head in the Clouds. That, in the day time, the fitteth in a Watch Tower, and flyeth, most, by night: That she mingleth Things done, with things not done: And that she is a Terrour to great Citties: But that, which paffeth all the rest, is: They do recount, that the Earth, Mother of the Gyants, that made War against Fupiter, and were by him deftroyed, thereupon, in an anger, brought forth Fame: For certain it is, That Rebels, figured by the Gyants, and Seditious Fames, and Libels, are but Brothers, and Sifters; Masculine, and Feminine. But now, if a Man can tame this Monster, and bring her to feed at the hand, and govern her, and with her fly other ravening Fowle, and kill them, it is fomewhat worth. But we are infected, with the stile of the Poets. To fpeak now, in a fad, and ferious manner: There is not, in all the Politiques, a Place, leffe handled, and

more worthy to be handled, then this of Fame. We will, therefore, speak of these points. What are false Fames; And what are true Fames; And how they may be best discerned; How Fames, may be sown, and raifed; How they may be spread, and multiplyed; And how they may be checked, and layed dead. And other Things, concerning the Nature of Fame. Fame. is of that force, as there is, fcarcely, any great Action wherein, it hath not, a great part; Especially, in the War. Mucianus undid Vitellius by a Fame, that he fcattered; That Vitellius had in purpose, to remove the Legions of Syria, into Germany; And the Legions of Germany, into Syria: whereupon the Legions of Syria were infinitely inflamed. Fulius Cafar, took Pompey unprovided, and layed afleep his industry, and preparations, by a Fame that he cunningly gaue out; How Cafars own Souldiers loved him not; And being wearied with the Wars, and Laden with the spoyles of Gaul, would forfake him, as foon as he came into Italy. Livia, fetled all things, for the Succession, of her Son Tiberius, by continuall giving out, that her husband Augustus, was upon Recovery, and amendment. And it is an usuall thing, with the Baffhawes, to conceale the Death of the Great Turk from the Fannizaries, and men of War, to fave the Sacking of Constantinople, and other Towns, as their Manner is. Themistocles, made Zerxes, king of Persia poast apace out of Gracia, by giving out, that the Gracians, had a purpose, to break his Bridge, of Ships, which he had made athwart Hellespont. There be a thousand such like Examples; And the more they are, the leffe they need to be repeated; Because a Man, meeteth with them, every where: Therefore, let all Wife Governors, have as great a watch, and care, ouer Fames, as they have, of the Actions, and Defignes themselves.

The rest was not Finished.

ADDITIONAL NOTES

refpecting

LORD BACON AND HIS WRITINGS.

We fairly despair of giving any adequate representation of either the Author or his Works. Some vital contemporary testimony has been adduced at pp. xi.-xxi.; and the few following notes, which are all our space will admit, may be taken simply as a handful of gleanings out of a vast harvest.

1558. Aob. 17. Elizabeth succeeds to the throne.

1560. JAN. 22. Francis Bacon is born at York House. 1576. Nov. 21. Bacon becomes an 'Ancient' of Grav Bacon becomes an 'Ancient' of Gray's Inn. Harl. MS.

1912 He becomes a Student of his Inn. Harl. MS. 1912. He becomes an 'Utter Barrister.' Harl. MS. 1912. 1582. JUNE 27.

1086. He becomes an 'Utter Barnster.' Harl. MS. 1912.
1588. He becomes a Bencher of Gray's Inn. Harleian MS. 1912.
1589. He isappointed a 'Reader' of his Inn.' Harleian MS. 1912.
1592. Mr. Spedding edited, in 1870, for his Grace the Duke of Northumberland, 'A Conference of Pleasure, composed for some festive occasion about the year 1592. The original title of the partially burnt MS. is Mr. ffr. Bacon of tribute or giuing that which is Adv. 1. The praise of the worthiest vertue [Fortitude]. 2. The praise of the worthiest affection [Lovel. 3. The praise of the worthiest person [Queen Elizabeth]. The first two are guite new. quite new.

1596. JUNE 2. Remedies against Discontent, &c. is registered at Sta-

tioners' Hall: see p. ix.

The Earl of Lincoln and suite were away from England on 1596. JULY 31. Oct. 9. an embassy to the Landgrave of Hesse. An account of the journey was immediately written by one of the suite, Edward Monings, and published in October or November, under the the title of The Landgrave of Hessen, his princelie receiving of her Maiesties Embassador.

[There is a copy in the Grenville Collection, No. 2938.]

OCT. 26. It is thus entered in the Stationers Register C. fol. 15.

26 OCTOBER.

Robert Robinson Entred for his copie in th[e] and of Mr. Hartwell and the Wardens a booke intituled The langraue of Hessen his princelye Receavinge of her maies ambassadors.

This work is connected with the Essays, through the following undoubtable plagiarism from the Essay on 'Studies,' at \$19, 6-10; as yet in MS.

"His education prince-like, generally knowen in all things, and excellent in many, seasoning his graue and mor[e] important studies for ability in independent, with studies of pastime for retiring, as in poetric, musike, and the Mathematikes, and for ornament in discourse in the languages, French, Italian, and English, wherein he is expert reading much, conferring and writting much he is a full man, a readie man, an exact man, and so excellent a Prince that a man may say of him without flatterie as Tullie did of Pompey vnus in quo summa sunt omnia, and for my private opinion I

thinke there are but fewe such men in the world." p. 21.

It was such 'garnishment' as this, that induced Bacon to publish his Essays, as he states in his dedicatory letter to his brother Anthony, see p. 4.

1597. JAN. 30. 1597. Feb. 5. Date of Bacon's dedication to his brother Anthony, see p. 4. The first Edition of the Essayes is registered at Stationers' The entry at the top of fol. 18. of Register C. [1595-1620 A.D.] is as follows.

1506. Anno Reginæ, Eliz, xxxixº.

5 FEB. Entered for his copie vnder th[e] hands of Mr Fr. Bacon Mr D. Stanhope Mr Barlow, and Mr Warden Dawson, a booke intituled Essaies Religious Medita-Henry Hooper. tions, Places of perswasion and disswasion by Mr Fr. Bacon.

We have here given the entry as it stands: because the regnal year corrects the date. The 5th of February in 30. Eliz, was the 5 Feb. 1507; or as

it is more technically written 1596/7.

FEB. 7. The Essayes thus registered were published immediately. At the top of the title-page of the Museum copy (C. 21. a) is written Septimo die Ffebruarii 39. E. R. pretium xxd. [The seventh day of February in the 30th of Queen Elizabeth: price Twenty

pence.] It is interesting thus to learn from this early purchaser, the price of the first publication of the great English Philosopher. 1600. Bacon is appointed a "Double Reader" of his Inn. Harl.

1600. This year appeared Essayes by Sir W. Cornwallis. 1601. There appeared this year, a small book by Robert Johnson, gent. entitled Essaies, or rather Imperfect Offers. A work reprinted in 1604, 1621, and 1630.

1603. Mar. 24. James E. succeeds to the English throne.

Bacon is knighted by King James.

1603. July 23. 1604. Aug. 25. 1605. Sept. 19. Sir F. Bacon is made King's Counsel.
The Two Bookes of the Proficiencie and Advancement are thus registered in the Stationers' Register B. [1505-1630]

fol. 129.

"Entered for his copie vnder the hande of my Lo. Mr Ockold. Byschop of London and the Wardens a booke as-This work was well in Latyn as in Englysh called The Second printed for [?two] book of frauncis Bacon of the proficience and

Henry Tomes.] advancement of learninge Divine and humaine." This was simply a license to publish it in Latin; into which language it

was not as vet translated. 1605. Nov. 7. John Chamberlain informs Dudley Carleton of 'Sir F.

Bacon's new book on Learning.' Orig. in S. P. Office. 1907. June 25. Sr F. Bacon is made Solicitor General.

1608. This year appeared Essayes Politicke and Morrall. by D.

T[ewell] gent. 1610. A second part of Sir W. Cornwallis' Essays appeared. At fol. 227 of Stationers' Registers, is the following register in the year 1612. 10 James, of Text V in this Reprint. 1612. OCT. 12.

12 OCTOBER. Entered for their copy vnder the hande of my Lo. Bysshopp of London and the Wardens a book called William Hall. John Beale. The Essays of Sr. ffr. Bacon Knight the Kings Sollici-

tor Generail. For this edition, he wrote the dedication on \$. 158 to Prince Henry:

but on 1612. Nov. 3. Prince Henry died.

Nov. Bacon then wrote a fresh dedication to his brother-in-law Sir John Constable, see p. 420, beginning thus—"My last Essaies I dedicated to my deare brother Master Anthony Bacon." It is therefore clear that he himself looked on this edition, as a

second and revised Text. Nicolas Chamberlain writing on this day to Sir Ducley 1612. DEC. 17.

Carleton says, 'Sir Francis Bacon hath set out new Essays, where, in a chapter of *Deformity*, the world takes notice that he paints out his little cousin [Robert Cecil, Earl of Salisbury] to the life.' Court and Times of James I. i. 214. Ed. 1848.

1613. Oct. 27. Sir F. Bacon is made Attorney General.

1615. Nicholas Breton published his Characters vpon Essaies Morrall and Divine, and dedicates them to Sir Francis Bacon.

1616. June 9. 1617. Mar. 3. 1619. Jan. 4. Sir F. Bacon is made a Privy Councillor. Sir F. Bacon is promoted to be Lord Keeper. Sir F. Bacon is made Lord Chancellor. Sir F. Bacon is made Baron Verulam.

JULY 11.

1620

Bacon publishes his great work *Instauratio Magna*. The geniuses laughed at it, and men of talent and acquirement, whose studies had narrowed their minds into particular channels, incapable of un-derstanding its reasonings, and appreciating its originality, turned wits for the purpose of ridiculing the new publication of the philosophic Lord Chancellor. Dr. Andrews, a forgotten wit of those days, perpetrated a vile pun upon the town and title of St Alban's, by saying, some doggerel verses that it was on the high road to Dunce table, i.e. Dunstable, and therefore appropriate to the author of such a book. Mr. Secretary Cuffe said it was 'a book which a fool could have written, and a wise man would not.' King James declared it was like the Peace of God—'it passeth all understanding.' Coke wrote, under a device on the title page, of a ship passing through the pillars of Hercules

"It deserveth not to be read in schools But to be freighted in the ship of fools."

[? Authority.] -Quoted by A. S. Allibone. Crit. Dict. i. 91. Ed. 1859.

Lord Verulam is created Viscount St Alban. 1621. JAN. 22.

His patent was drawn in the most flattering terms, and the Prince of Wales signed it as a witness. The creemony of investiture was performed with great state at Theobalds, and Buckingham condescended to be one of the chief actors. Lord Macaulay. Ed. Rev. No. 132, p. 48. July 1837.

1621. MAY 3. He is sentenced by the House of Lords.

3. Bacon writing at this day to Conway, the Secretary of State, thus finishes his letter, which is now in the State Paper Office. 1623. MAR. 23.

"I was looking over some short papers of mine touching usury, how to grind the teeth of it, and yet to make it grind to his Majesty's mill in good sort, without discontent or perturbation: if you think good I will perfect it, as I send it to his Maiesty as some fruits of my leisure. But yet I would not have it come from me, not from any tenderness in the thing, but because I know well in the courts of princes it is usual non res, sed displicet Fr. St. Alban." Quoted by Mr Dixon in Personal History of Lord Bacon, p. 296. Ed. 1861.

About this time then, Bacon wrote the Essay on Usury, see pp. 541-6.

1625. [1624, Dec. 15] Bacon published The translation of Certaine Psalmes into English verse. 4to. It is thus dedicated:

To his very good frend, Mr George Herbert.

The paines, that it pleased you to take, about some of my Writings, I cannot forget; which did put mee in minde, to dedicate to you, this poore Exercise of my sicknesse. Besides, it being my manner for Dedications, to Exercise of my sicknesse. Desides, it being my manner for Dedications, to choose those that I hold most fit for the Argument, I thought in respect of Diuinitie and Poesie, met, (whereof the one is the Matter, the other the Stile of this little Writing) I could not make better choice. So, with signification of my Loue and Acknowledgement I euer rest.

Your affectionate Frend, Fr. St Alban.

1625. [1624. Dec.] There appeared this year, Lord Bacon's Apophthegmes New and Old with the following preface.

"Ivlius Casar, did write a Collection of Apophthegmes, as appeares in an Epistle of Cicero. I need say no more, for the worth, of a Writing, of that nature. It is pitie his Booke is lost: for I imagine, they were collected, with Judgement, and Choice: whereas that of Plutarch, and Stobaus, and much more, the Moderne ones, draw much of the dregs. Certainly, they are of excellent vse. They are, Mucrones Verborum, Pointed Speeches. Cicero prettily cals them, Salinas, Salt pits; that you may extract salt out of, and sprinkle it, where you will. They serue, to be interlaced, in continued Speech. They serue, to be recited, vpon occasion of themselues. They serue, if you take out the kernell of them, and make them your owne. I haue, for my recreation, in my sicknesse, fami'd the Old; Not omitting any, because they are vulgar; (for many vulgar ones are excellent good;) Nor for the meannesse of the Person; but because they are dull, and flat: And added many New, that otherwise would haue died."

1625. MAR. 13. The final English edition of the Essays was thus registered on fol. 97 of the Stationers Register, D. [1620-1645] on 13

Mar. 7624, 22 James I. [i.e. 13 Mar. 1625].
Mr. Whitacre. Entered for their copie vnder the hande of the Lo.
Hanna Barrett. B. of London and Mr. lownes warden The Essayes

and Counsell morrall and Civill of Francis lo. Verulam vicount st. Alban.

Two title pages are found to this Edition. The first corresponding to the above entry. The Essayes or Coonsels, civill and morall, of Francis Lo. Vervilam, Viscount St. Alban. New enlarged. London, Printed by Iohn Haviland for Hanna Barret, and Richard Whitaker, and are to be sold at the signe of the Kings head in Paul's Church-yard. 1625.

On a copy with this title in Cambridge Univ. Library (xvii. 36. 14.) Mr. W. A. Wright states is the memorandum for Finch 30° Marthj. 1625 ex dono Authoris. From which it is clear that the final English edition was issued between 13-30 March 1625. The second title page is reprinted at \$6.497.

between 13-30 March 1625. The first in Mr Wright's Edition.

1625. MAR. The dedication on \$. 408 was clearly written in the reign of James.

1625. Mar. 27. Charles II. became Ming.

1626. Apr. 9 (Easter Sunday). Lord St. Alban dies.

1626. Apr. 9 (Easter Sunday). Lord St. Alban dies.
1644. [i.e. 1645] On this day appeared in London: Memorials of GodJan. 3]. Unesse and Christianitie. Part I. Of making Religion one's Businesse. This was written by the Rev. Herbert Palmer, B.D. [b. 1601] at this time President of Queen's College, Cambridge, (which office he held till his death on 13. August 1647.]
1645. [July 24.] There appeared a 12 paged surreptitious tract entitled. The Character of a Believing Christian. Set forth in Paradoxes and seeming Contradictions. There is a copy in the British Museum [Press mark E. 182.].
1645. July 25. The next day is the date of Mr Palmer's Address To the Christian Reader. in Part II of the Memorials. Sec. in

Christian Reader in Part II of the Memorials, &c. in

which occurs the following passage.

"There is offered thee a second part of Memorials of Godlinesse and Christianity: smal indeed for bulk but more suitable for that to the title and the lesse burthensome to thee. Withall I must needs say, I meant the somewhat more: but whilest (in the midst of many employments) I was getting it ready, a strange hand was liked to haue robbed me of the greatest part of this, by putting to the presse (unknown to me) an imperfect copy of the Paradoxes. This made me hasten to tender a true one, and to content myself for the present with the addition of the other lesser pieces, which here accompany them."

Rev. H. Palmer, B.D. died. 1647. Aug. 13.

1648. Rev. II. Famer, B.D. died.

In this year was published Remaines, being Essaies and several Letters of Lord Bacon: of unknown and almost valueless Editorship; in which The Paradoxes of Herbert Palmer appear as a writing of Lord Bacon: and as such, have been repeated in many later editions of his Works. It is to Rev. A. B. Grosart in his privately printed Lord Bacon, not the author of The Christian Paradoxes, 1865, that we are indebted to the rectification of this 'two-century-old literary error, if not fraud.'





PR 2206 A3 1871a Bacon, Francis, Viscount Stalbans
A harmony of the essays

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